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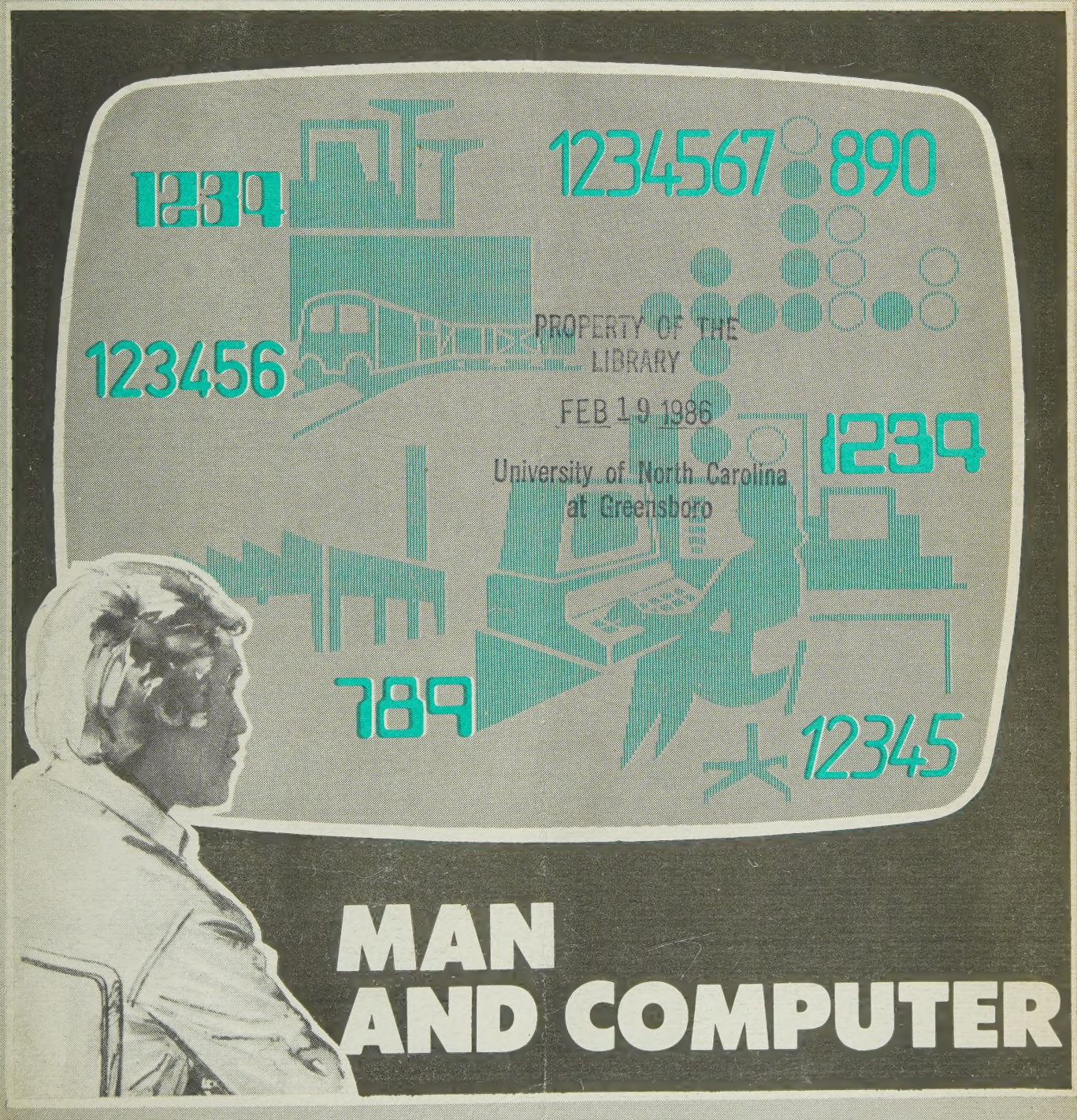
NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

EYES TURNED ON THE SOVIET INITIATIVES

MISSION FOR EUROPE

THE CHALLENGER TRAGEDY



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MAN AND COMPUTER

Century followed century, states and empires rose and fell, the slave society was succeeded by the feudal, and with its advent wars grew more and more savage. But at the same time the dream of a "golden age" free of wars which sprang up in hoary antiquity struck ever deeper root in the minds of men. (See inside front cover of our issue No. 4.)

Chronicles have brought down to our day the name of the French carpenter Durand, who eight centuries ago, in 1182, founded a Brotherhood of Peace, raising his voice against the madness of war. And Durand was not alone. The idea of joint effort to deliver people from the horrors of war was already on the order of the day.

In the 13th century, Prince Roman Galitsky called for a concord of states within the framework of a "Russian peace." In the 14th century, the idea of a "universal European peace" was put forward by the French thinker Dubois. In the 15th century, Bohemian King Jiri of Podebrady addressed to the monarchs of Europe a proposal to sign a Treaty on the Establishment of Peace Throughout the Whole of Christiandom, which he had worked out in detail. (The 500th anniversary of this first attempt to create a system of collective security based on the principle of peaceful coexistence was commemorated under the sponsorship of UNESCO.)

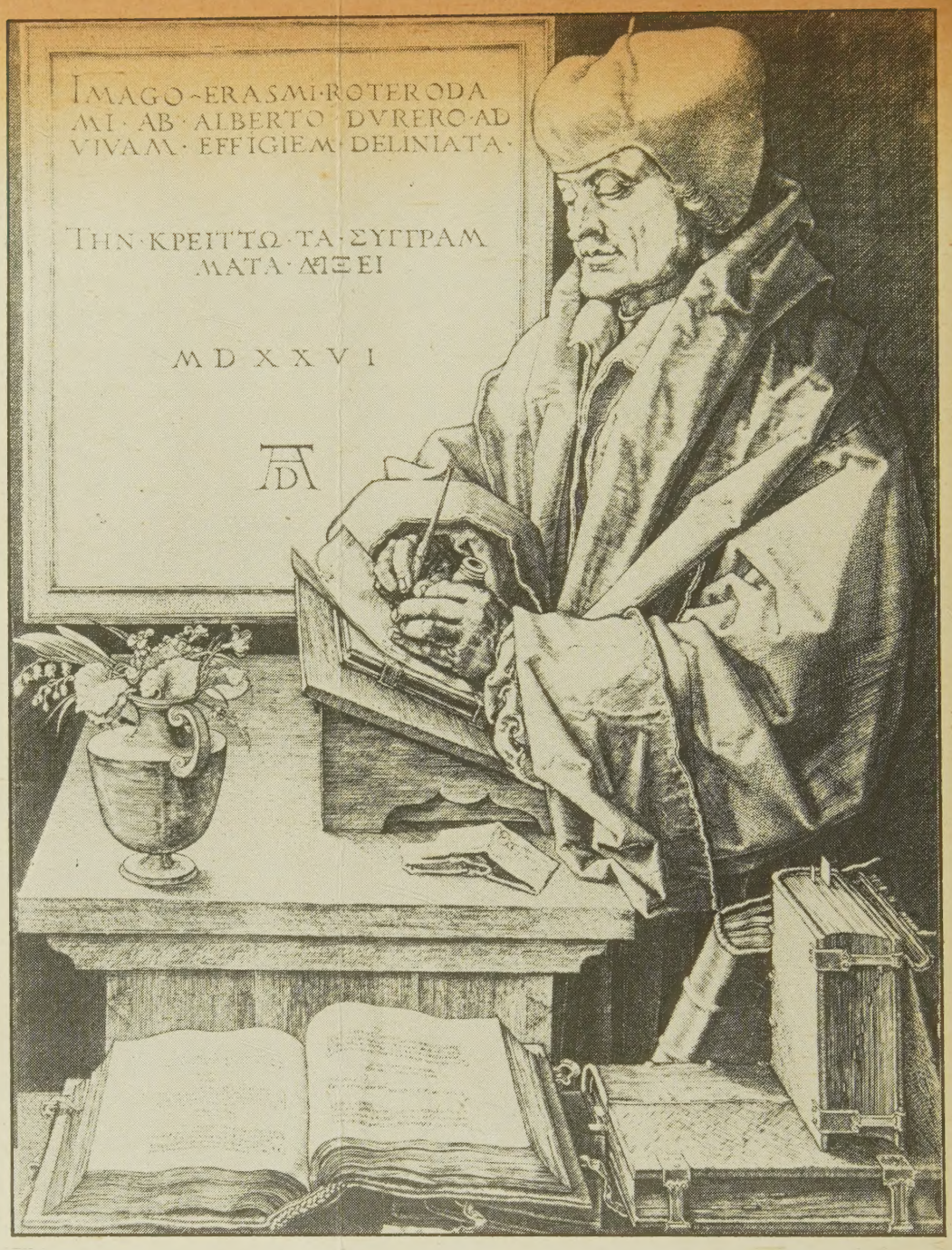
These and similar ideas were in many respects naive, and some of them were prompted by selfish motives, but the important thing is that they did not spring up in a vacuum, but reflected popular sentiment.

An inestimable role in the shaping of this sentiment was played by a galaxy of great humanists —philosophers, writers, artists—of the late Middle Ages and early Renaissance. An outstanding place among them belongs to the founder of utopian socialism, the English thinker Thomas More. In his "Utopia" (1516), a work pervaded by lofty thoughts, he depicted an ideal society whose citizens would know neither enmity nor wars. Condemning the maintenance of mercenary armies, he warned that they wrought harm to peace, to which under all circumstances far more concern should be shown than to war.

The words spoken in defence of peace by More's friend and fellow thinker Erasmus of Rotterdam have a timely ring today. "War is sweet to those who have not experienced it," he said in 1515. And in his treatise, "The Complaint of Peace" (1517), he denounced the "hypocrisy of the tyrants": "They sense and see their power only when destroying harmony among the people, and when this harmony has been disrupted, they involve the people in war so as to disunite those who still remain united and to be able still more easily to plunder and torment the unfortunate."

"The City of the Sun" (1623) by the Italian philosopher, poet and political leader Tommaso Campanella is known the world over. The inhabitants of his imaginary city are not moved by "motives of conquest and they do evil unto none."

Thus, inspired by humanism, mankind's finest minds rose against violence and plunder. But in their time they were powerless. The world was approaching the threshold of a new epoch, that of the rise of capitalism, which made the cult of violence its banner and its device. But the fight against war and oppression also entered a new stage.



Erasmus of Rotterdam. Portrait done in 1526 by Albrecht Dürer (1471-1528).

POLITICS AND PETTY POLITICKING

The role and potential of Europe in international affairs is highly evaluated in the Soviet Union. The continent could undertake a special mission — it could pioneer in the renewal of détente. It is fully capable of giving its own, European, answer to the challenge of the times.

What should this answer be?

Clearly, the pressing problem of nuclear armaments in Europe should be resolved first of all. "If instead of complicating and encumbering the issue with other problems the Soviet and American medium-range missiles were done away with on our continent," Mikhail Gorbachev said on January 28 at a dinner in the Kremlin in honour of an Italian Communist Party delegation, "we could untangle what is perhaps one of the most complex knots in world politics today and to a considerable extent clear the way to a radical reduction of nuclear weapons and eventually to their complete elimination."

To untangle this knot the Soviet Union in April 1985 declared a unilateral moratorium on the deployment of medium-range missiles. Their number has already been brought down to the level of June 1984 when the U.S.S.R. was compelled to take countermeasures in connection with the deployment of analogous American weaponry. As a result of these and other measures there are now in the European zone of the Soviet Union considerably fewer medium-range missiles than there were 10 or even 15 years ago. This is not only a matter of good will, of setting an example to others, but also of substantial self-limitation, a no small concession in order to resolve the controversy.

Responding to Western suggestions, the Soviet Union is also willing for agreement on medium-range missiles not to be directly linked with the problem of space and strategic weapons. The Soviet programme for nuclear disarmament envisages the conclusion and implementation of an agreement on the total elimination of Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles, both ballistic and cruise, in the European zone already at the initial stage of the reductions, beginning this year. The U.S. would undertake the commitment not to transfer its strategic and medium-range missiles to other countries. For the time being, only one thing would be expected of Britain and France — not to build up their nuclear armaments.

It appears, however, that the U.S. and NATO are still unwilling duly to appraise the restraint displayed by the other side, its readiness to compromise and make concessions. Far from being untangled, the knot is being tightened. Washington goes on building up and reinforcing its first-strike nuclear weapons sited in Western Europe. London and Paris are likewise increasing their nuclear arsenals, intimidated from the other side of the ocean by the contention that renunciation of nuclear weapons supposedly "can only make Europe safe for a total conventional war." The false argument that the Soviet Union enjoys superiority in conventional strength is invoked — moreover, by those for whom Europe is merely a "theatre of hostilities," a springboard for "limited" nuclear war.

Some quarters in European capitals echo the transatlantic promptings, and others circulate fabrications of their own.

Nevertheless, the Soviet programme for nuclear disarmament is giving its opponents no rest. They are forced to play up to public sentiment in their own countries, to resort to all manner of dodges and manoeuvres. Washington is not averse to talking about an agreement on medium-range missiles being the most "realistic" option, and London and Paris, about their readiness to join the Soviet Union and the United States if they substantially disarm. But how do things really stand?

Washington is far more occupied with involving its allies in the "star wars" programme than with considering the possibility of agreement being reached with the U.S.S.R. London and Paris are concerned mostly with not appearing in the eyes of European and world public opinion as "the sole obstacle to the elimination of the Kremlin's SS-20 missiles and their American equivalents," and secretly hope that the White House will not renounce its Strategic Defence Initiative, thereby assuming full responsibility for blocking nuclear disarmament.

Such so far is their reply to the challenge of the times, to the call issued by the Soviet Union to join forces and at long last embark on the actual termination of the arms race. One can only hope that this is not the West's final word. That the interests of universal security will gain the upper hand over attempts to ensure one's own security at the expense of others. That true politics will prevail over petty politicking.

FROM OUR MAILBAG

◆ As you know, the United Nations has proclaimed 1986 International Year of Peace. For the Soviet people this is not just a declaration, it is a call for more vigorous action on behalf of peace. Our Party and government, conscious of the present complex world situation, are doing their utmost to revive détente and are advancing constructive initiatives to this end. One would like to hope that common sense and realism will prevail in the United States too.

V. PETRENKO
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

◆ Last year I had the good fortune to visit your great country as a member of a delegation of circulation activists of the newspaper Unità. We went to Moscow, Leningrad and Alma Ata. I was in the U.S.S.R. nine years ago, and so I was able to appreciate the tremendous changes that have taken place in your country. I was greatly impressed by the demonstration on Red Square on November 7. I was one of the guests at the reception held to celebrate the 68th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. Comrade Gorbachev sat not far from where I was. I am only sorry I did not have a chance to shake his hand and thank him for the tremendous contribution the U.S.S.R. is making to the strengthening of peace and the easing of tension.

Mario BARBERIS
Cuneo, Italy

◆ Not long ago I saw some shots on the TV of the court hearings in the case of the nazi war criminal Klaus Barbie about which your journal has written more than once. Can the French have forgotten the atrocities perpetrated by the fascists during World War II? I was a prisoner in the Dachau death camp and I was a witness of the monstrous cruelty with which the inmates were methodically wiped out, among them French Resistance fighters. Day and night the smoke poured out of the chimneys of the crematorium where the dead, and even the still living, were burned. In my opinion there can be no question of any statute of limitations being applied to such criminals.

Ivan GORDEYEV
Kazakhstan, U.S.S.R.

◆ The American newspapers say nothing about the acts of provocation committed against Cuba, like the flight over Cuban airspace of the SR-71 spy plane. But they dilate at great length about Cuba having only one political party. They forget that the people of Cuba have been at one for a long time. And that no amount of provocations on the part of the imperialist states will prevent us from building socialism. Your journal helps us by exposing the misinformation spread by the so-called "free" press. That is why there is such a big demand for New Times in Cuba that it is sold out at the newsstands in no time.

Oscar Consuegra MAZPULE
Cienfuegos, Cuba

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In a world that bristles with nuclear missiles, electronic systems are not to be mindlessly relied upon. In our interview (pp. 24-28) Academician Pospelov discusses the problem of artificial intelligence and the extra risks involved in the "computerization" of the arms race.

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A GREAT RESPONSIBILITY

The prolongation of the Soviet Union's unilateral moratorium on all nuclear tests for another three months, until March 31, announced in CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's recent statement, is a new major step in the matter of limiting nuclear armaments and preventing nuclear war. It will be remembered that no such tests have been conducted in our country since August 6 last year. The moratorium could be extended further if the United States likewise refrained from testing, which the U.S.S.R. once again urges it to do.

"It is clear that for us to take such a decision was not a simple matter," Mikhail Gorbachev said. "The Soviet Union cannot display unilateral restraint with regard to nuclear tests ad infinitum. But the stakes are too high and the responsibility too great for us not to take every opportunity to influence the position of others through the force of example."

Why a Moratorium Is Needed

The termination of all nuclear weapon tests would be an important contribution to the strengthening of strategic stability and peace the world over. The modernization of nuclear weapons and the development of new types of these weapons are inseparably linked with testing. Latterly a new area of experimentation in this sphere has opened up: as part of its "star wars" programme the U.S. is developing lasers using the energy released in nuclear explosions. One such test was carried out at the end of December at the Nevada proving grounds.

Nuclear tests give added impetus to the arms buildup, make for the emergence of new and more destructive nuclear weapons and increase the likelihood of their use in war. Because of this the termination of tests is the key problem in limiting possibilities for the production of new types of nuclear bombs and warheads. Without testing, the nuclear arms buildup would in time become impossible.

More, the ending of testing offers an avenue to the elimination of the already accumulated nuclear arsenals. For if there are no tests and, consequently, no modernization of existing nuclear weapons, they will gradually lose their effectiveness, become obsolete, and be withdrawn from national armaments. In the long term, nuclear weapons would in a way simply wither away.

The problem of putting an end to nuclear tests is not a new one.

The nuclear test race stems from the nuclear arms race unleashed by Washington. Following the initial U.S. tests, the Soviet Union was forced to begin testing in 1949. In 1952 Britain exploded its first nuclear device, in 1960 France, and in 1964 China. The number of tests increased from year to year. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, in the period from 1945 to 1984 some 1,500 nuclear weapons tests were carried out in the world, more than half of them by the United States.

In the 1950s, the mass movement for putting an end to the dangerous experimenting with nuclear weapons came into being and began gaining momentum in various countries. The Soviet Union was in the vanguard of this movement. Already then our country—the only country possessing nuclear weapons to do so—came out firmly for the termination of tests.

In order to pave the way to agreement and to overcome the resistance of the West, the Soviet Union took a bold and important step in March 1958. The U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet adopted a resolution announcing the unilateral "ending in the Soviet Union of tests of all types of atomic and hydrogen weapons" and issuing a call to other nuclear powers "to take similar measures to ensure the termination of the testing of atomic and hydrogen weapons everywhere and for all time." The U.S.S.R. counted on other nuclear powers following its example. But this did not happen. In April 1958 the U.S. and Britain embarked on a more intensive test programme than they had ever carried out before.

In subsequent years the persevering efforts of the Soviet Union produced fruit. The 1963 Moscow Treaty banning nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water limited opportunities for the development of new types of these weapons, and primarily of the most destructive types. It also did away to a large extent with a dangerous source of radioactive contamination of the environment. That treaty, which ranks among the most prestigious and weighty international agreements, has been signed by 113 states.

Complete and general prohibition of tests, however, remains on the order of the day. For one thing, because the partial test ban treaty does not extend to underground tests, which make it possible to modernize nuclear weapons and, consequently, to build up arsenals. For another, two nuclear powers—China and France—still have not acceded to the Moscow Treaty.

An important role in bringing about a total cessation of tests could be played by the 1974 Soviet-American Treaty on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests. By proscribing underground explosions of more than 150-kiloton yield, the treaty narrowed down opportunities for the development and further sophistication of the most destructive and dangerous types of nuclear weapons. A substantial contribution to resolving the problem of banning tests could be made also by the Soviet-American Treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes concluded in 1976. It rules out the use of such explosions to modernize nuclear weapons. However, the U.S. has been dragging out the entry into force of both treaties on all manner of pretexts.

In 1977, on the initiative of our country, negotiations began among the Soviet Union, the U.S. and Britain on the conclusion of a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of tests. Some important provisions, including provisions concerning verification, were agreed. But the U.S. policy of war preparation led to the talks being broken off by the Western participants at their final stage. It may be said that the U.S. has also been persistently observing a unilateral moratorium—not on nuclear explosions, but on talks.

Only a Long-Term Aim?

In July 1980 the United States, together with the two other participants in these talks—the U.S.S.R. and Britain—stated in a joint report to the Geneva Disarmament Committee that they were aware of the vast significance the prohibition of all nuclear test explosions would have for all humanity, and that on the practical plane they sought to arrive at an agreement that would be a major contribution to checking the nuclear arms race. But literally in a matter of months the U.S. broke off the trilateral talks, and in October 1981 the then director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency Eugene Rostow, speaking at the U.N., described the prohibition of tests as being only the long-term aim.

Finally, towards the end of last year, a White House spokesman said that a comprehensive ban on tests was the United States' long-term aim in the context of wide, far-reaching and verifiable reductions of armaments, considerably more opportunities for verification, the broadening of confidence-building measures, and equivalence of conventional armaments, on condition that in time the nuclear deterrence potential will no longer be basic to international security and stability as it is now. This is the tangle of international issues on which the solution of a problem that could already be settled separately and relatively simply is made dependent.

The world community with few exceptions calls for the banning for all time of all nuclear weapon tests. This is evident from a number of U.N. decisions, including those taken at the recent 40th General Assembly (as a rule, the only votes cast against them were those of the U.S., Britain and France). The leaders of the six countries that issued the Delhi Declaration—Argentina, Greece, India, Mexico, Tanzania and Sweden—demanded the prohibition of nuclear explosions without delay. Some political personalities in the United States too urge the ending of such tests.

The Soviet Union holds that the problem of prohibiting nuclear weapon tests can be resolved. Our country is proposing concrete avenues to this. Moreover, it is ready to consider the views of other countries on this score.

With the object of creating more favourable conditions for the drafting of a treaty banning nuclear tests, the Soviet Union last summer proclaimed a unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions as of August 6. The world welcomed this initiative and expected the U.S. to act accordingly. Washington, however, began to cast about for pretexts for evading the Soviet proposal.

To begin with, recourse was had to an old shopworn device: the termination of nuclear explosions by the Soviet Union was labelled "propaganda." Why, then, did the U.S. not do the same? It was claimed that by ending testing, the U.S.S.R. was merely covering up its striving to outstrip the U.S. in nuclear arms. But how can one outstrip anyone by halting? Besides, Washington makes no mention of the fact that the U.S. has carried out at least one third more nuclear weapon tests than the Soviet Union. And together with the other Western nuclear powers, over 50 per cent more. According to figures released by the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, by the beginning of 1985 the U.S. had carried out 772 explosions, France, 127, and Britain, 37. All told, the NATO countries possessing nuclear weapons had carried out 936 tests, and the U.S.S.R., 556.

In the first six months of last year the Soviet Union and the United States carried out an equal number of nuclear explosions, and after the announcement of the Soviet moratorium, the U.S. conducted another seven officially announced tests.

Now Washington is again talking about the alleged impossibility of verification of the observance of moratoriums. Yet it is common knowledge that both the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. possess highly sophisticated national technical means for reliable control over the observance of moratoriums.

Is Verification a Problem?

An additional guarantee of effective verification is to refrain (as the Soviet Union is now doing) from all nuclear explosions, peaceful ones included. If this is done, neither side could violate the moratorium without shouldering a grave political responsibility before the entire world community.

With the object of heightening the effectiveness of control, Moscow has also supported the idea of an international system of verification. This end could be served by making use of, say, the proposal of the six countries signatory to the Delhi Declaration con-

ROAD TO PEACE

The Gorbachev statement, the Soviet programme for ridding the world of nuclear weapons, continues to hold public attention all over the globe.

MANAGUA

SOVIET GOOD WILL

DANIEL ORTEGA,
President of the Republic of Nicaragua

"We believe that the Soviet Union has made the maximum effort to set in motion international mechanisms capable of stimulating the policy of disarmament, peace, and eventually ensuring universal security. The proposals put forward by Mikhail Gorbachev, his initiatives are very concrete. As far as we know, the U.S. has not yet responded to them. Washington continues the arms race and seeks to spread it to outer space. All this increases the threat of nuclear war, which is being noted with alarm by the allies of the United States and by the American people themselves.

"We deem it our duty before the whole international community to exert the maximum effort in 1986 so that the Gorbachev-Reagan meeting in Geneva may really open the door to peace."

Speaking about Washington's reaction to the Soviet proposal to join the Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests, Daniel Ortega stressed:

"The Soviet Union has demonstrated its will for peace. I could say more, it has presented the best proof that it really desires to ensure international security. Instead of considering the Soviet proposal on a moratorium and following the example of the U.S.S.R., Washington rejects it. That is why the world community must act still more vigorously to induce the U.S. to change its position."

From Daniel Ortega's conversation with a group of Soviet journalists in Managua, including our own correspondent Vladimir Dolgov.

cerning the establishment of special observation stations on their territories.

The Soviet Union is prepared to go even further: to agree with the U.S. on some on-the-spot verification measures to remove possible doubts, provided, of course, a reciprocal moratorium is imposed now on nuclear explosions.

It is in place to note that the much publicized Washington invitation to Soviet observers to visit American nuclear testing sites has nothing to do with prohibition of testing. The U.S. simply wants the Soviet Union to give its "blessing" to the continuation of testing in the United States.

The problem of verification cannot be an obstacle to the achievement of agreement on a joint moratorium. The trouble, however, is that the present U.S. Administration is going on with the arms race, building up its nuclear arsenals, and modernizing mass destruction weapons. In late December a White House spokesman frankly declared that nuclear armaments would remain in the foreseeable future a key element of the U.S. "deterrence potential" and that in these circumstances nuclear tests were needed.

A Soviet-American moratorium would be a signal to other nuclear powers and would create a favourable opportunity for the positive development of the process begun at the Geneva summit, for taking effective practical action to end the arms race.

FROM A REPORT ISSUED BY THE CENTRE FOR DEFENCE INFORMATION (U.S.A.)

Assertions that the U.S. cannot detect Soviet cheating and that the Soviets consistently violate existing treaties, serve a number of political ends. They weaken public support for arms control, raise doubts about the merits of current and proposed treaties, and justify failure to reach new arms agreements. Secrecy surrounding intelligence gathering techniques and restricted access to the data gathered facilitate this manipulation of public opinion....

Since there are measurable differences in the seismic signals produced by earthquakes and nuclear explosions, U.S. ability to detect and identify even small nuclear explosions is very good. According to Lynn Sykes, Professor of Geological Science at Columbia University, and Jack Evernden of the U.S. Geological Survey, "networks of seismic instruments could monitor a total test ban with high reliability. Even small clandestine explosions could be identified even if extreme measures were taken to evade detection."

What we must avoid in the debate today over limiting nuclear arms is putting the verification cart before the arms control horse.

The resumption of the trilateral talks on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests would be of great importance. Moscow is ready to join in such talks without delay. Multilateral talks on banning nuclear tests could also be started within the framework of the Disarmament Conference. Or the depositary states of the Moscow partial nuclear test ban treaty—the Soviet Union, the United States and Britain—could at this conference study the possibility of extending the treaty to underground tests. This is urged also by a resolution adopted by the recent U.N. General Assembly on the initiative of Mexico and a number of other countries.

The U.S. Administration has now been given additional time to carefully weigh the proposals contained in the statement by Mikhail Gorbachev and duly to respond to them. For a Soviet-American moratorium on all nuclear explosions to become the reality only one thing is needed—readiness on the part of Washington to take concrete measures towards ending the arms race and removing the nuclear threat.

K. BORISOV

LONDON

A VERY IMPORTANT CONTRIBUTION

DENIS HEALEY,
Labour Shadow Cabinet
Spokesman on Foreign Affairs

I think that General Secretary Gorbachev's long statement on disarmament is a very important contribution to the negotiations which are now taking place. First of all, I welcome very much the fact that he is speaking with particular concern for the interests of the European countries.

When you get a political programme put forward, the important thing for me is what is going to be done in the next few years, not what is going to be done in ten years' time. And the first phase of the new Gorbachev programme is, I think, the most interesting and, to me, the most convincing. At the first phase, all the changes in the Soviet position are hopeful. First of all, that there should be a reduction in the strategic nuclear weapons of the two great powers by half. This is, in my view, realistic and necessary.

I understand very well that such a reduction is possible only if America and Russia mutually renounce the development, testing and deployment of space strike weapons. And I welcome the fact that priority is given to stopping development and testing and that research as such is not mentioned in the programme. I believe it is possible to draw a distinction between what people do in laboratories and tests outside laboratories which can be monitored by national means.

I very much welcome that the first phase should include the complete elimination of intermediate-range missiles of the Soviet Union and the United States in the European zone. We, in Western Europe, would want this zone to include all missile sites from which intermediate-range missiles could hit any part of Western Europe.

I think it is sensible that in this first phase the United States should not transfer strategic and medium-range missiles to other countries, and Britain and France should pledge not to build up their respective nuclear arms. From the British government's point of view, which wishes to keep, for the time being, some nuclear weapons, that seems to be an acceptable compromise, because even the British newspapers which support the Conservative Party are raising the question whether it would make sense in the present economic situation to continue with the Trident programme.

On the other hand, I think it is also very important that the Soviet Union offers the West to conclude not only a moratorium but a comprehensive test ban treaty. We, in the Labour Party,

would wish to see a rapid agreement on the comprehensive test ban treaty, and we welcome the extension of the Soviet moratorium to give more time for this question to be discussed among the Western powers.

I myself believe strongly that Britain, as a member of the three-nation negotiating group which discussed the comprehensive test ban treaty, should take an initiative in inviting the Soviet Union and the United States to resume negotiations for such a treaty, especially now that scientific techniques have enormously improved so as to be able to detect tests down to a very small level, and the Soviet Union, in Mr Gorbachev's latest statement and the earlier statements, has agreed in principle to on-site inspection.

Now phase two of nuclear disarmament. The cessation of nuclear weapon tests by all nuclear powers comes in stage two. I presume this is meant to include such countries as China which may carry out test explosions. I strongly agree that there should be a ban on the development of non-nuclear weapons based on new physical principles with a destructive capacity similar to that of nuclear weapons, because, as you know, there has been some discussion recently in the United States of the possibility that lasers might be used to incinerate cities, and the consequences of their use in this role could be to create climatic disturbance with such terrible results as the so-called nuclear winter.

But this brings me to phase three. I do not think it is possible totally to eliminate nuclear weapons all over the world unless there is also an agreement on general and comprehensive control of all weapons. [It should be noted that the Soviet Union proposes to reach agreement both on other weapons of mass destruction and on conventional armaments. — Ed.]

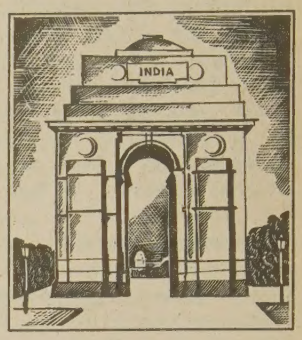
I believe very strongly myself that it is possible for the great powers and the medium powers to reach agreement on stopping the arms race and reducing nuclear arsenals, and also in Europe on reducing conventional forces. I believe it is also possible for NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization to discuss with one another how to establish satisfactory security for themselves in cooperation, rather than in the continued confrontation. And that is the assumption which underlies the Stockholm conference.

What often happens in proposals is the fact that they contain objectives which everyone can agree with but no one knows how to reach. What is good about the Gorbachev proposals is that the most convincing proposals are those in the first phase and there are also proposals which go further towards meeting the concerns of the West European countries than earlier versions of the same approach.

At our request Denis Healey was interviewed in London by Pravda correspondent Arkady Maslennikov

DELHI

DISARMAMENT AND DEVELOPMENT



What do Asians think about Mikhail Gorbachev's concrete programme for a radical reduction of nuclear armaments followed by their complete abolition? And how does this programme dovetail with the vital issue of guaranteeing peace and security throughout this vast continent? Your correspondent put these questions to two prominent Indian public figures.

"Asia holds a special place in Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals," M. Zuberi, professor of political science at Jawaharlal Nehru University, observed. "After all, nuclear weapons are deployed in this continent as well. Take South Korea, which possibly leads the world in the density with which American nuclear warheads are deployed on its soil. Or the nuclear menace that is threatening us in Asia as the result of U.S. nuclear preparations on Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean. So what hangs over Asia is, in effect, a nuclear sword of Damocles.

"The Soviet programme for the elimination of nuclear armaments," Professor Zuberi continued, "matches the aspirations of the peoples of Asia, for whom the issues of peace and security are as crucial as for the peoples of Europe.

"Finally," he went on, "the fact that the Gorbachev programme closely links the prospect of disarmament with the needs of development appeals to the peoples of Asia. The truth is that the destruction of nuclear and chemical weaponry plus a drastic reduction of military spending offer the most realistic and effective means of releasing funds vital for the advancement of young, newly independent states."

The realistic and concrete character of the new Soviet initiatives serves to stimulate the peoples of Asia in their effort to curb the nuclear arms race that the imperialists have thrust upon the world. This is the view of Indian public figure, T.N. Kaul, former Indian ambassador to the U.S.S.R.

"Disarmament is the concern not only of the nuclear powers," he stated. "After all, in this nuclear age war, should it occur, would cross every frontier. No wonder the peoples of Asia regard the far-reaching Soviet initiatives as a point of departure in their effort to achieve nuclear disarmament. The Soviet Union's latest prolongation of the moratorium on nuclear testing has been acclaimed throughout Asia. This bold action by the Soviet leadership impels us to demand even more insistently that the U.S. follow the Soviet example. The U.S. is responsible for the nuclear menace having crept up to the borders of India, which is greatly alarmed by neighbouring Pakistan's nuclear preparations.

"We here in Asia," T.N. Kaul concluded, "view Reagan's Strategic Defence Initiative as a threat to the whole world. Indeed, if this 'initiative' seeks, as the U.S. Administration would have us believe, to deactivate nuclear weapons, then why approach this goal indirectly? Why not advance towards it directly, as the Soviet Union suggests?"

L. ZHEGALOV
Our Own Correspondent

CPSU—ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

LOOKING TO THE FUTURE

The preservation of peace and inter-party relations were the main topics discussed at the talks in the Kremlin on January 27-28 between CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and General Secretary of the Italian Communist Party Alessandro Natta.

Reviewing the results of the meeting, the two party leaders did not conceal that differences in the assessment by the CPSU and ICP of certain problems, events and facts remain. At the same time, the desire to look ahead rather than back and, with full respect for each other's independence, to seek broader cooperation, was evinced by both sides.

There is a vast field for the application of joint political effort. Above all, for preventing the threat of war and the militarization of outer space.

Life or universal nuclear suicide? Europe can give its answer to this challenge of our time. The Left, democratic forces of which the Communists have always been an integral part are to play an important role here. And if in some things these forces at times disagree more than they agree, the differences, it was stressed during the talks, should not interfere with the common struggle to deliver mankind from the nightmare of nuclear holocaust.

The ICP gave a high appraisal of Moscow's decision to introduce a moratorium on nuclear tests and of the latest Soviet proposals on the reduction of strategic arms, on the withdrawal of medium-range missiles from the European continent and on other important international problems. Italian Communists, on the threshold of their own party forum, are following with keen interest the preparations for the 27th Congress of the CPSU and all the new initiatives aimed at far-reaching changes in the Soviet economy and society.

Also discussed in the Kremlin were problems of all-European cooperation, including the expansion of ties in the most diverse areas between the Common Market and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, and between the Soviet Union and Italy. The situation in various regions of the world was examined, as was the question of a new economic order based on the principles of equality and justice.

On the whole, it may be said that the exchange of opinions was useful and reaffirmed the friendly and frank nature of the relations between the CPSU and the ICP.

L. MAKAREVICH

Above: During the talks in the Kremlin.

TASS photo

U.S.S.R.—ARGENTINA

EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITIES

The recently observed centenary of diplomatic relations between Argentina and our country was marked by an important event—the first official visit to the Soviet Union in late January of the Argentine Minister of Foreign Affairs and Religion Dante Mario Caputo. The minister was received by Andrei Gromyko and had talks with Eduard Shevardnadze.

Our two countries conduct an active political dialogue on major issues of world politics, including at summit level, and hold regular consultations and exchange of information. Adhering to their identical or approximating positions on important world problems, the U.S.S.R. and Argentina stand for the strengthening of peace and universal security, curbing the nuclear arms race and for effective measures in the field of disarmament.

At the talks in Moscow Dante Caputo's attention was drawn to the Soviet programme for a nuclear-free world and for total disarmament outlined in the statement by Mikhail Gorbachev and aimed at ridding the earth completely of nuclear weapons and other mass annihilation means. The Argentine minister spoke of the positive attitude of Buenos Aires to the Soviet peace initiatives and stressed that they create a good foundation for the practical solution of the problems of arms limitation and disarmament.

Dante Caputo denounced as immoral the wasting of enormous economic resources, in the developing countries as well, on creating weapons of destruction, and pointed to the irresponsibility of attempts to turn both the earth and outer space into a theatre of hostilities.

This support of the Soviet moves demonstrates once again the mature approach of the Argentine government to the solution of the most vital issues of our time. It testifies to its desire to contribute to the cause of easing world tensions.

Together with other countries of the Delhi Six—Greece, India, Mexico, Tanzania and Sweden—Argentina pursues an active policy aimed at the scaling down of the arms race, at preventing the militarization of outer space and the establishment of mutual Soviet-American moratoriums on nuclear explosions. This policy is consonant with the Soviet approach to the solution of important problems, as General Secretary Gorbachev observed recently in his message to Argentine President Raul Alfonsin.

In the course of the talks the situation in various regions of the world was examined. The Soviet side resolutely condemned the actions of the United States in Central America, its policy towards Nicaragua and its attempts to impose on the people of that country a system alien to them. It was noted that only a political settlement of the problems of this region on the basis of strict observance of the sovereignty and independence of states, the rights of their peoples to independent development without outside interference will make it possible to achieve lasting peace in Central America. In this con-

nection the strengthening of the role and influence of Argentina in the matter of averting the threat of a conflict in Central America cannot but evoke satisfaction.

The tense situation in the South Atlantic, U.S. and British policy pivoted on the militarization of this region are causing serious disquiet. Such a policy is fraught with a direct danger for all Latin American and other states and leads to the preservation here of a dangerous seat of tension and conflict. Argentina's invariable readiness to settle the question of the sovereignty of the Malvina (Falkland) Islands through dialogue on the basis of U.N. decisions has evoked respect all over the world.

A substantial potential has already been built up in Soviet-Argentinian cooperation. The ties between the two countries are steadily developing. Evidence of this is the signing during Dante Caputo's visit of a protocol on consultations, an agreement on cultural and scientific cooperation, a protocol on the joint publication of a collection of documents connected with the centenary of diplomatic relations, and an agreement on the delivery of grain and soybeans from Argentina to the U.S.S.R.

"The negotiations we have had," Eduard Shevardnadze said at a luncheon given in honour of the Argentine minister, "have once again shown that in their relations our two countries are on the right road and that before us are good prospects, excellent opportunities for the development of ties and the deepening of cooperation in international affairs."

S. BORISOV

SOUTHERN AFRICA

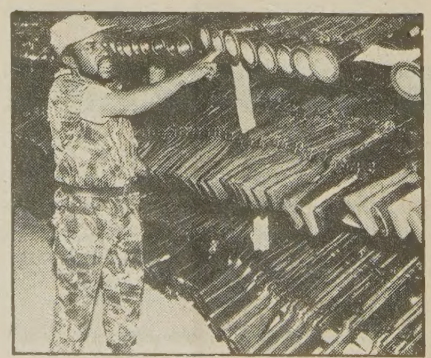
BACKING THE TERRORISTS

A regular red-carpet reception was accorded Jonas Savimbi, the leader of the UNITA terrorists, on his arrival in Washington on January 30. He was received by the President, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Defence, the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the director of the CIA. The ultra-Right organizations that have taken him under their wing bent over backwards to ensure him as much publicity as possible. He was given the opportunity to appear on TV programmes, diverse "seminars" (!) were planned for him and meetings and interviews of all kinds. All this could serve as the plot of an amusing vaudeville were it not for the sinister schemes concealed beneath the surface.

Savimbi was brought to Washington from the depths of Africa at the moment when the question of rendering him military and other aid is being considered. As a matter of fact the question has long been settled in principle. All that remains is to haggle with Congress over the exact amount of dollars to be allotted Savimbi for the purchase of arms. Initial reports put the sum at $27 million, but now there is talk of double that figure. The sum of $300 million is even mentioned!

Reagan has never concealed his hostility towards the People's Republic of Angola, and the desire either to overthrow the government of the republic or to force it to enter into negotiations with the UNITA leaders has become something of an obsession with him. South Africa, acting in compact with the U.S., has been giving every support to the UNITA bands. Its troops have invaded Angolan territory several times to save them from being wiped out in the course of offensive operations by the People's Liberation Army of Angola. But the racists are finding this too much for them. Pretoria needs troops at home to put down the anti-racist actions that have swept all provinces of South Africa. It needs troops also in Namibia to keep that country under its heel. Besides, there are also the terrorist bands operating in Mozambique to be supported. And all this at a time when the South African economy is splitting at the seams. UNITA, for its part, has to have constant help, for without it Savimbi's bands would have been routed long since. Hence Washington's decision to hasten to his assistance.

A UNITA armoury.
Photo from Jeune Afrique (Paris)



In the U.S. Congress, however, there are a good many opponents of the Administration's intentions. More than 100 Congressmen have appealed to the President to stop helping UNITA. There is also considerable opposition to that reckless policy outside Congress. The New York Times, for instance, says that Savimbi is not a "freedom fighter," as Reagan depicts him, but merely an unscrupulous politician and terrorist. He has a reputation as a South African puppet, the paper says, and to render him assistance would only bind the U.S. closer to South African policy, which would evoke the anger of the whole of Africa. But the Administration remains adamant. Reagan received Savimbi and promised to help UNITA in its struggle against the Marxist government in Luanda. Savimbi himself has said he will not be leaving the U.S. empty-handed.

The U.S. Administration's decision to aid UNITA is in line with its "new globalism" strategy which consists in resorting to strong-arm methods against Third World countries which do not wish to submit to Washington's diktat, are pursuing their own independent policy and building their own life as they see fit. U.S. policy towards Angola gives the lie to Washington's assurances of its desire for a peaceful settlement of regional conflicts. In reality, it is seeking to incite such conflicts, heedless of the fact that this can only lead to more bloodshed, to more loss of human life.

But Angola will not be brought to its knees. It has loyal friends who are always ready to help it withstand all trials. The Soviet-Angolan-Cuban consultations held on January 27 in Moscow testify to this. The participants in the meeting, reviewing the world situation in general and the situation in southern Africa in particular denounced Pretoria's attempts to legalize its colonial domination of Namibia and voiced their unfailing support for the ANC-led struggle of the South African people against the detested apartheid regime. They noted the "timeliness and usefulness" of the consultations for the "further coordination of the actions of the three countries to defend the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the People's Republic of Angola and to achieve a fair and honest settlement in southern Africa."

Y. BOCHKARYOV

HAITI

THE BEGINNING OF AN END

Now and again the U.S. Administration reiterates its stock formula, "the human rights situation is improving in...," the only variant being the name of the country in question (racist-dominated South Africa, for instance, or fascist-ruled Chile). This is done each time it becomes necessary to rehabilitate in a hurry the obscurantists and hangmen that Washington keeps, nurtures, feeds, arms—and incites to new crimes for the sake of the "free world" and Washington's "vital interests."

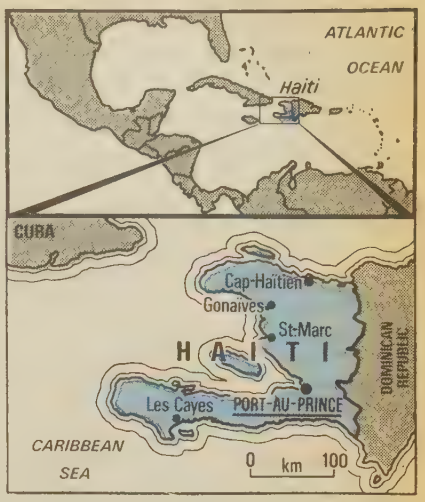
Haiti, where "the situation continued to improve" until quite recently, is a case in point. The improvement started in 1915, when American troops landed to put an end to the sovereignty of the world's first black republic and the independence of the first nation to win its freedom from French colonialism. There was radical improvement in 1957, when the reins of power were handed over to the dictator Doctor Duvalier. Things got even better after Papa Doc's death, when his degenerate son Baby Doc took over and improved the human rights situation still further.

Jean-Claude confidently put Haiti at the top of the league of Latin America's poorest countries. He did not hesitate to improve the public education system to such an extent that 80 per cent of city dwellers and 95 per cent of the peasantry can neither read nor write. His successful economic policy left 65 per cent able-bodied Haitians unemployed, with the rest working 14 hours a day for American, French and other corporations attracted, as an official brochure published in Port-au-Prince proudly put it, "by very low labour costs" and a complete ban on trade union activity. The tontons macoutes (Chilean-trained gendarmes) and the military (combat-drilled in the U.S. on a par with the Nicaraguan contras) go to any lengths—arrests, tortures or killings—to protect the citizens' rights and freedoms.

Jean-Claudism, as the regime's doctrine and practice are solemnly referred to, improved life in Haiti to the point where the Haitians felt they had had enough. The poverty-stricken, starving, unarmed nation rebelled. The Catholic clergy refused to canonize the dictator and joined in the revolt. Baby Hangman locked himself up in his palace, declared a state of siege, and ordered his watchdogs to shoot the rebels on sight. The tontons macoutes killed dozens of people, and numerous arrests were made.

Realizing that there was no further room for improvement, Jean-Claude's masters were about to replace him with someone just as "Jean-Claudist," though not quite as odious, to lull the rebels into complacency. Jean-Claude decided, however, to live up to his title of "president for life"—even if it involved taking the lives of everyone else in the country—and did not flee to the U.S. or, at least, had not done so when we went to press.

Be that as it may, the rebel nation realizes that an end must be put not only to Jean-Claude, wallowing in filth and blood, but to the Jean-Claudist system. There is a precedent in Nicaragua, where the people toppled Somoza and Somozism. Leaflets carrying a statement by René Théodore,



General Secretary of the United Party of Haitian Communists, have been disseminated. "It is necessary," the statement says, "to remain vigilant and continue to press our demands that Duvalier be expelled, democratic freedoms restored, economic progress resumed, and poverty abolished."

The fight goes on.

V. TSOPPI

BRITAIN

THE WESTLAND AFFAIR

It was in February last year that the British Ministry of Defence first began to give serious thought to the problem of how to help the Westland helicopter concern out of its financial troubles. After less than twelve months the debate on the subject confronted the House of Commons with a motion that was tantamount to a vote of no confidence in the Thatcher government. The dramatic events that rocked the London political scene at the end of 1985 and the beginning of this year have shown that what at first glance might seem a minor military-political issue can in the present climate develop into a major scandal that could shake the Establishment to its foundations.

To begin with, there has been the resignation of two key members of the cabinet. The first of these, Defence Secretary Michael Heseltine, clashed with the Prime Minister and walked out of a cabinet meeting "slamming the door" behind him. The second, Leon Brittan, Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, was found to have been guilty of a "terminological inexactitude" (a parliamentary euphemism for a lie) and obliged to withdraw from the government.

The anatomy of the whole affair is as simple as it is instructive. It is a clash between the ideas and interests of two wings of the British military-industrial complex. The one hopes to preserve London's influence in world affairs by cashing in on its notorious "special relationship" with Washington. The other is counting on playing a leading role on NATO's West European flank, taking advantage of Washington's differences with its West European partners.

Viewing the Westland affair from this angle, one can easily discern the alignment of forces in the Establishment. In the dispute about how to keep the company afloat, Heseltine favoured the idea of selling a controlling interest to a "European consortium." Brittan, with the Prime Minister's support, backed a bid from the American concern United Technologies which makes Sikorsky helicopters. It was, in brief, a choice between West European

capital preserving its position in helicopter production or relinquishing it to an American monopoly.

Not all the details of what might well be termed the "Westlandgate" scandal have yet surfaced. But what has already come to light makes it possible to judge the political ethics of those "at the top" in London. The Prime Minister's office leaked to the press the content of a confidential letter to Heseltine from the Solicitor-General questioning the Defence Secretary's arguments. Brittan openly pressured British Aerospace to refuse "in the national interest" to participate in the "European consortium." Confronted in Parliament with this shameful fact, Brittan denied the report three times, and it was this that finally cost him his portfolio.

Facts like these show to what lengths the military-industrial complex is ready to go to achieve its ends. Thanks to their parliamentary majority, the Conservatives have succeeded in remaining in power. But the affair is not over. Observers close to ruling quarters are of the opinion that the Westland row has put Thatcher's style of leadership in question and damaged her reputation. A public opinion poll has shown that more than half of the electorate want her to resign.

M. KOBRIN

SOUTH YEMEN

THE JANUARY CRISIS

The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (South Yemen) saw tragic events last month. January 13, when internal differences developed into fierce armed clashes, became black Monday in the republic's calendar.

Army units and certain tribal groups became involved in bitter conflicts, news agencies report. In Aden, the capital and an important port of the country, fighting was at its most furious. Great damage was done to the city's municipal economy. A number of districts came under heavy artillery and tank fire which left many buildings in ruins and took a heavy toll of lives.

To judge from contradictory reports coming in from Aden, fighting stopped on January 24. On that day the Central Committee of the Yemen Socialist Party gathered for an extraordinary meeting to discuss the situation.

The meeting adopted a statement to the effect that as a result of internecine clashes, South Yemen's revolutionary gains were imperilled, and the working people's hopes for liberation, progress, socialism and unity were threatened. The statement noted that imperialist and reactionary forces had a direct interest in putting an end to the South Yemen revolution and undoing its achievements, "in undermining the party from within through elements and forces opposed to its class and ideological policy."

The meeting called on "party organizations, all party members to strengthen their militant cohesion, cement the organizational and ideological unity of the party on the strong foundations of its Programme and Rules," on the basis of adherence to the ideas of scientific socialism and the principles of proletarian internationalism. It also called on the people to rally around the party and its collective leadership to heal the wounds, protect the revolution and system of government, and defend national independence.

The YSP Central Committee expressed its appreciation of the support and solidarity of the socialist countries, especially the U.S.S.R. and its Leninist party. It stressed that the strengthening and development of relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries would remain a cornerstone of the republic's foreign policy.

The meeting vested the Political Bureau of the Central Committee with full powers of government and instructed it to take every measure to strengthen the leading role of the party and restore calm in the country.

The plenary meeting recommended that Haydar Abu Bakr al-Attas, a member of the Political Bureau and Prime Minister, be elected Vice-Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Council and appointed acting President of the republic. He was on an Asian tour when the tragic events occurred and returned home from Delhi via Moscow.

In a TV address to the nation at the end of January, Haydar Abu Bakr al-Attas said that the main task now was to undo the effects of the January 13 events as soon as possible and continue to carry out social and economic development plans. The people of South Yemen must redouble their vigilance in view of the various attempts being made to revive hostile actions against the country's independence and security, he said.

According to Aden radio, armed clashes had ended all over the country, Abyan and Shibwah provinces included, by the end of January. In Aden itself, municipal transport is back in service, shops have reopened. TV broadcasts have been resumed and newspapers are again being issued. The debris is being cleared and damaged water and energy supply systems have been repaired.

The first planes to land on Aden airport's newly repaired runway were two Soviet ones which brought supplies to the capital as part of a programme of relief for the population. The aid came from the Soviet Red Cross. A Soviet ship brought in building materials. Aid started arriving from other states and international organizations as well.

On February 1, Haydar Abu Bakr al-Attas told a press conference in Aden that South Yemen would continue with its former foreign policy based on the principles of peaceful coexistence, good-neighbourliness and cooperation with all countries which respect the independence and sovereignty of the country and do not interfere in its affairs. He said that the P.D.R.Y. wished to strengthen its relations with the Yemen Arab Republic, other neighbouring states on the Arabian peninsula and with the rest of the Arab world. Our links with the U.S.S.R. are close, as friendly links should be, and we shall go on promoting them in the interests of our two countries, he said.

The South Yemen people's road to freedom from British colonialism was a hard one. In the years of independence it coped with difficult domestic problems. There is no doubt that now, too, it will prove equal to overcoming the grievous consequences of the January crisis.

A. ULANSKY

THE CHALLENGER TRAGEDY

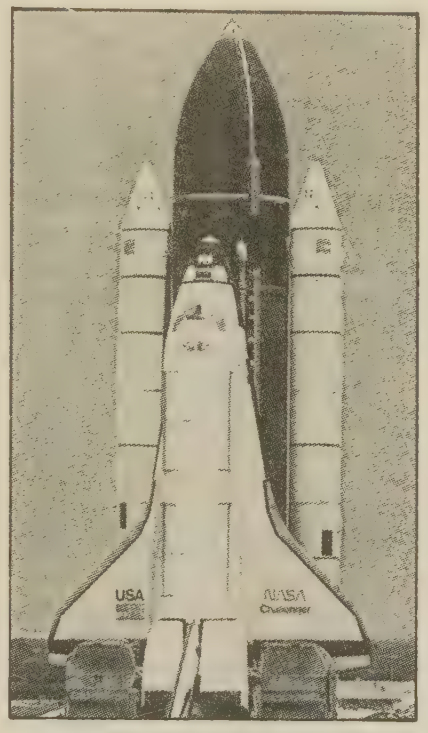
QUESTIONS WITHOUT ANSWERS

"Television could not be more real, nor more terrifying," U.S.A. Today commented. Millions of Americans watching the launching of the shuttle Challenger on TV saw it all. In schools television was on, for teacher Christa McAuliffe was to conduct a geography lesson for schoolchildren in all the states from the spaceship. The disaster occurred 75 seconds after the blast-off. Tongues of flame licked the fuselage and in a flash the shuttle had turned into a fireball. Unfeeling TV cameras continued picking out relatives of the astronauts, including Christa McAuliffe's children, from among the throng of guests invited for the launching.

The grief of the American people over this tragic loss of life on board the shuttle, Mikhail Gorbachev said in his message of condolence, is shared in the Soviet Union. Being the trailblazer in space exploration, the Soviet people know better than anyone else what courage and valour it takes to serve the cause of human progress on newly opened frontiers of knowledge. The decision of Soviet scientists who have compiled the first ever maps of the surface of Venus to name two of the planet's craters after the two women on board the Challenger—Christa McAuliffe and Judith Resnik—is seen here as a reflection of this sincere sympathy.

The shock and consternation caused among Americans by what happened at the Florida launching site is manifest in the hundreds, and perhaps thousands, of questions that are being asked. What really happened? What caused the malfunctions that led to the explosion? Neither experts nor officials of the National Aeronautics and Space Administration have been able to supply the answers. How much time the investigation will take no one will venture to say; the explosion was so powerful that nothing remains of Challenger but small fragments.

The solid-fuel boosters of the shuttle could help to reconstruct a picture of what happened. But after the explosion there was the danger that they might fall on inhabited areas and therefore they were destroyed in the air. Some experts are inclined to believe that the explosion occurred after a crack developed in one of the solid-fuel boosters: the jet of flame ignited the suspended fuel tanks. About ten seconds before the explosion NASA registered a sudden fall in the rate of acceleration. Some experts are convinced that the disaster could have been prevented had the damaged booster been provided with a sufficient number of sensors. Instruments at the flight control centre, however, gave no warning of anything being wrong in the operation of the shuttle's on-board systems. In view of this, the film taken by cinema cameramen and news photographers has been sequestered for use in the investigation. A special commission appointed by the President and headed by former Secretary of State William Rogers has been given 120 days to establish the cause of the catastrophe.



The Challenger at takeoff and 75 seconds later.

Time magazine and UPI—TASS photos

The shuttle programme has been suspended until the causes of the disaster have been conclusively established. However, some of the questions occupying the minds of Americans can be answered already now. It is known, for instance, that the launching of Challenger was put off several times in several days. First because of the weather. Then the entry hatch was found to be jammed. Before the needed tools were brought up, the sky was again overcast. In the morning of the day before the disaster the last delay was caused by ice formation. True, a few hours later a NASA team found the situation "normal." However, there is a question NASA evades answering: why did its top leadership ignore a recommendation from the firm that had made the shuttle that the launch be delayed because of the accretion of ice? Why the haste?

There has been virtually no shuttle flight in which malfunctions have not occurred and emergencies developed. But each delay meant upsetting the overall flight schedule, which provides for bringing the annual total to 24 by 1992. Now, after the Challenger disaster there will be no more than 18 flights, which would be enough if the NASA assignments were limited to its own launchings (nine a year) and the creation of a space station (which requires another nine). The point is, however, that most of the projected flights are to be for aerospace concerns and the Pentagon, whose "stellar" appetites are growing rapidly.

Industrial corporations working on military and commercial contracts connected with the shuttle programme were looking forward to pocketing $20.3 billion in profit this year, as against $8 billion in 1980. The Pentagon stakes were raised accordingly. Now, to reassure public opinion, Washington avoids underscoring the scale of military activity in outer space. But already five years ago one of the founders of the U.S. space programme,

James van Allen, warned: "NASA is going to be trampled to death by the Defence Department on shuttle use." The American scientist, who was well acquainted with the inner workings of the programme, was aware of its militarist orientation. "Why not be honest about it and call it a military programme?" he asked. Despite the secrecy in which all this was wrapped, the real state of affairs was not easy to conceal. Now the Pentagon is spending $4 billion on top-secret shuttle launch and command facilities in California and Colorado, respectively. A year ago the Discovery blasted off from Cape Canaveral on a top-secret mission for the Pentagon. In October last year the flight of the Atlantis was similarly enveloped in secrecy. The Pentagon has calculated that by 1992 it will be needing 15 flights a year to give effect to the "star wars" programme and to orbit spy satellites.

Incidentally, even on ordinary flights secret assignments are clearly carried out. For instance, NASA at first categorically refused to explain what the contents were of some green canisters on board the Challenger, while the search parties were strictly forbidden to touch any of the debris bearing traces of a green substance. True, later it was said that the canisters contained a highly toxic fuel which shuttles use to manoeuvre in orbit. Secrets are also concealed in the structure of budgets. Last year, besides the $12.9 billion allocated to the Pentagon for use in operations in outer space, one fifth of the $4 billion appropriation to NASA for the shuttle programme has officially been earmarked for Defence Department assignments.

There was also another reason for the hurry. NASA is competing with the European Space Agency for contracts to orbit satellites. Since the beginning of the 1980s both organizations have been running practically even as regards commercial performance. It is obvious that NASA can carry out the Pentagon assignments and retain its competitive capacity only if the shuttle flights are made more frequent.

The disaster at Cape Canaveral has a bearing on another problem, the magnitude of which makes it something more than an exclusively American tragedy. Challenger, like other shuttles, was crammed with sensors and control instruments, and equipped with the most up-to-date American computer technology. Nevertheless, when the flames had already enveloped an outer fuel tank, the on-board computers continued to send 3.1 million units of information per second which on the screens of the flight control centre were deciphered as evidence that the flight was proceeding normally. Until they were destroyed by the explosion, the computers made it appear as if everything was going according to plan. Yet it is precisely computers that are to constitute the central element in SDI, John Pike of the Federation of American Scientists has observed. Analyzing the experience accumulated to date, the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists comments in its February issue that a checkup of the guidance systems of the Safeguard anti-missile system before its deployment revealed 5,000 errors serious enough "to affect the primary performance objective of the system." In view of the scale of the SDI system the Pentagon is working on, "such errors can only increase," U.S. scientists conclude. Moreover, there will be no opportunity for checkups before deployment. All this points to one thing: the likelihood of the accidental triggering off of "star wars."

An indirect lesson to be drawn from the tragedy in Florida, news analyst James Reston writes, is that people in Washington "began to realize they were dealing with weapons that could blow up the world." Regrettably, another observation by Reston is also true: whereas many Americans are beginning to experience fears, in the policy-making echelons the state of mind remains unchanged. Defence Secretary Weinberger makes no secret of the fact that the Challenger disaster will merely delay space experiments related to President Reagan's strategic initiative. In other words, there is no intention to radically revise the "star wars" programme.

When shuttle flights will be resumed is not known. But as soon as this happens, the Pentagon "is likely to exercise its right to bump other payloads, disrupting schedules for years to come," the New York Times writes. "It is the price NASA will have to pay for military support." The assumption is well founded. A member of the House Committee on Science and Technology, Robert Walker, has already said that when it comes to priorities, it is best to give primacy to military objectives.

Mankind's road to the stars is an uphill road. Every setback in the contest with the Earth's gravitation costs a heavy price. The Challenger disaster is one more warning that the cost of such catastrophes will increase immeasurably if outer space is made an arena for "star wars."

Our Own Correspondent

New York

International economic, commercial, scientific and technological cooperation is an important aspect of interstate relations. It affords enormous possibilities for solving many of today's global problems—specifically, overcoming economic backwardness, meeting man's constantly growing need for energy, raw materials and food, protecting the environment, exploiting the resources of the World Ocean, and peaceful space exploration.

The broadening of economic exchanges among nations helps make fuller use of the advantages offered by the international division of labour and promotes social and economic progress. The development of extensive and stable foreign economic links on the basis of equality, justice and mutual benefit is of great political importance as well. It contributes materially towards lasting peace and strengthens the foundations of peaceful coexistence among states with different social systems.

At the same time the utilization of the potentialities inherent in international economic cooperation presupposes the assertion of principles which would guarantee each country an equal and fair participation in international exchange. These principles include respect for the sovereign equality of all states, non-interference in their internal affairs, conscientious fulfilment of the commitments ensuing from universally recognized principles and norms of international law and from the existing international treaties, and the impermissibility of economic discrimination in whatever form.

The U.S.S.R. has always insisted on strict abidance by these principles. Soviet Communists are in favour of the "development of extensive, long-term and stable international links in the spheres of the economy, science and technology on the basis of full equality and mutual advantage," says the draft of the new text of the CPSU Programme. The Soviet Union condemns any forms of discrimination and any attempts to use commercial, economic, scientific and technological links as means of political pressure.

In pursuance of this cardinal policy, the Soviet Union has put forward, over the past few years, a number of important initiatives aimed at making international economic relations healthier and more democratic. We attach great importance to the resolution on international economic security adopted by the 40th U.N. General Assembly on the Soviet Union's initiative. The approval of the resolution by the General Assembly shows that the world communi-

INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SECURITY

The Soviet view

NIKOLAI EVGENYEV

ty wants healthy international economic relations free of any discrimination or artificial barriers to commercial, economic, scientific and technological links, and that all states seek economic security.

The Soviet government's memorandum International Economic Security: an Important Condition of Healthy International Economic Relations was submitted to the U.N. Secretary-General on January 27, 1986. The Soviet Union's special attention to the problems considered in the document is due to the fact that the efforts of the leading capitalist states to subordinate international economic links to their imperialist interests pose a real threat to the social and economic stability of sovereign states, especially of the developing nations.

The aggressive economic policy pursued in the international arena by the imperialist powers, primarily the U.S., in the eighties has destabilized almost every sphere of international economic relations and interstate cooperation, including world trade, currency relations, crediting, scientific and technical links. The developing countries have suffered most from this imperialist policy, which has further aggravated the problems that beset them—socio-economic backwardness, famine, stark poverty, illiteracy. The process of development in the young independent Asian, African and Latin American countries has actually come to a standstill and even gone into reverse in a number of cases.

World tensions, which have been exacerbated in the eighties, are chiefly to blame for the difficulties the world economy and international economic cooperation are now facing. Over the last few years the leading Western countries have placed emphasis on power politics in the tackling of international problems, on stepping up the arms race and extending it into outer space.

The boycotts, embargoes, sanctions and trade contract violations, of which the leading Western countries have made a practice, also interfere with the fruitful development of equal and mutually beneficial economic links. The world community has repeatedly condemned this destructive line.

The U.N. has adopted, on the socialist and developing countries' initiative, a number of resolutions demanding an end to the unlawful discriminatory measures the Western countries resort to in their economic relations with other countries. The 40th session of the U.N. General Assembly, for instance, adopted a resolution condemning the trade embargo the U.S. imposed on independent Nicaragua, and coercive economic actions taken against other developing countries.

The West blocks the process of the economic decolonization of the newly independent nations, as well as efforts by the U.N. to establish a new international economic order and restructure international economic relations along just and democratic lines. Taking advantage of the African, Asian and Latin American countries' difficult economic position, the West increases their neocolonialist dependence on it, shifts its own economic problems onto the developing states and pumps resources out of them to maintain its economy and finance its budget deficits and arms production programmes.

The developing countries' foreign debt which is now over one trillion dollars has recently become an acute socio-economic and political problem. Latin America alone owes $368 billion, and the African countries' total debt now amounts to $170 billion.

The burden of foreign debt on the developing countries, used as a means of neocolonialist exploitation, is the outcome of unequal economic relations in the capitalist sector of the world economy. At present certain debtor countries are compelled to pay out nearly half of their export earnings as interest on loans. The U.S. manipulation of bank interest rates is among the main causes of the developing countries' deteriorating debt situation. According to the U.N. Secretariat's journal Development Planning, the rise in interest rates has added another $40 billion to the foreign debt of the developing countries. At UNCTAD's estimate, many developing countries have lost from ten per cent to a third of their gross national product in foreign currency as a result of the rise in U.S. interest rates and the drop in their export earnings owing to the economic slump in the West.

In the course of discussions at the 40th General Assembly, representatives from the developing countries pointed out with anxiety that the foreign debt crisis had changed them from being recipients of money into exporters of capital to the industrialized capitalist countries. President Sarney Costa of Brazil noted in this connection: "We are now devoting all our energies to remitting our currency incomes to the very countries that suppress us and take discriminatory measures against us."

Payment of foreign debts is by no means the only channel through which the West absorbs financial resources from the developing world.

The developing countries lose billions of dollars as a result of unfair trading conditions on the world capitalist market, protectionism and the discrepancy in prices for the products of industrialized capitalist countries and the devel-

The pattern imposed by militarism—arms instead of development—must be replaced by the reverse order of things—disarmament for development.

From the statement by CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev of January 15, 1986

oping nations' traditional exports. Protectionism alone has cost the developing world an estimated $700 billion over the past two decades. The fall in the price of raw materials on the capitalist markets robbed the developing countries of $80 billion in 1984 alone.

The export to the West of the profits of the transnational corporations remains an enormous drain on the financial resources of the developing countries. Estimates based on far from complete IMF data put the resultant financial loss of the developing countries between 1975 and 1984 at $190 billion. This is a patent understatement.

The West cynically ignores the acute economic problems besetting the developing countries, steps up its neocolonialist exploitation of them and blocks any progressive initiatives on their part. All this does more than merely hinder the development of the young independent states. The stratagem of the West is to undermine their economic security, and subordinate them to imperialism both politically and economically.

Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze told the 40th session of the U.N. General Assembly that under the circumstances the United Nations "can and must raise its voice against the exploitation of the developing countries by imperialist monopolies that plunder their natural resources and strangle their economies in the noose of debt." The U.N. can also contribute substantially towards international economic security. It has adopted a series of economic programmes whose implementation would further this cause.

"The very notion of international economic security, which is a constituent part of international security as a whole," the Soviet government's memorandum says, "presupposes, first and foremost, the non-use of force or threats of force, the protection of legitimate rights and interests of states, and the provision of reliable guarantees against their violation." The Soviet Union's effort to ensure international economic security is part of the struggle for a reliable security for the present and future generations—security which can be achieved by curbing the arms race on Earth and stopping it spreading to outer space and by eliminating all nuclear weapons everywhere. It is by this means that the most pressing problems of the world economy and international economic relations can be resolved. ■

MANY-FACED RACISM

According to the annual report on anti-Semitism in the U.S. the number of anti-Semitic incidents registered a noticeable drop in 1985. This optimistic conclusion was made on the basis of the following figures: in 1985 cases of vandalism against Jewish organizations and homes (involving arson, bomb attacks and the painting of swastikas) numbered a mere 638 as against 715 in 1984. The number of muggings, beatings, threats, insulting letters and phone calls to Jews has also fallen to a mere 306.

Is the United States steadily, if slowly, becoming the paradise for all races and nationalities the Founding Fathers promised it would be? Is the American dream of equality and justice, after all, coming true?

Rabbi Morrice Schmidman did not believe that a pogrom of Jewish shops in New York's Brooklyn district was the work of anti-Semitic thugs. This despite the fact that the raid took place on November 10, the anniversary of the day in 1938 when nazi storm troopers smashed Jewish shops in Germany. However, whatever doubts there had been were dispelled when the Brooklyn incident was repeated two weeks later, and again in December. Although the city authorities flatly denied the anti-Semitic character of these acts of vandalism, the case has been handed over to a special police department on racial and ethnic affairs.

Democracy in Reverse

An inquiry into the case of the neonazi group Order in Seattle has been going on for several months. Neofascists are accused of armed robberies, counterfeiting money, murders and planned murders of representatives of the Jewish community. Amongst their potential victims are a former U.S. Secretary of State and executives of major TV networks. Jews are the children of the devil and it is the responsibility of the white race to exterminate them. This is how one of the "new Aryans," now standing trial, summed up their credo. The Order has its objectives neatly summed up with the same cynical candour: robbery and counterfeiting are merely a means to the main end, which is the extermination of Jews who are detrimental to society. The Order is not the only organization of its kind. And the ideas expressed in the courtroom in Seattle are not idle talk but a clear programme of action which is being methodically implemented. One of their victims is Alan Berg, a radio commentator from Denver who was shot for trying to uphold the rights of his community against ultra-Right attacks. This was disclosed at the conference "Anti-Semitism: Threat to Western Civilization" held in New York. Prominent lawyer Menachem Z. Rosensaft stressed that he did not believe that even a decade ago, blatantly anti-Semitic white supremacist neonazi groups such as the Order, the White American Political Association, the American Nazi Party, the Posse Comitatus and the Aryan Nations would have dared to be as conspicuous and as active or could have become as prominent as they had been during the past year or two.

Last autumn, when the Fox family—father, mother, son and daughter—moved to southeastern Philadelphia, an angry crowd burst into their home and staged a veritable pogrom. "Out of the neighbourhood!" they demanded. The reason: Carol Fox is a white American and her husband Gerald is a black. Carol says she had expected that the neighbours would not talk to them until they got to know them better. They had no chance. The worst, however, was avoided. The authorities imposed a state of emergency. But what of the overall situation? "Like many other cities Philadelphia has been highly segregated and is increasingly so," observed the newspaper The New York Times.

Thomas Morgan is a black American who has managed to overcome the race barrier. He is an assistant metropolitan editor of The New York Times. As he sees it, the social cleavage in America remains. "At social gatherings, church events, and in the privacy of their own homes black parents are discussing a dilemma: how to explain discrimination to their children."

This is the dilemma facing not only black American families. Indigenous Americans, the Indians in their reservations, and Asian Americans in their ghettoes are brooding over the same question. In Philadelphia, the city authorities had to stage hearings on the problems of Asian Americans after a series of brutal beatings of Asians by unidentified persons. A commission of inquiry after an investigation lasting almost a year came to the conclusion that serious anti-Asian sentiments in a number of regions are almost inevitable as a result of chaotic settlement.

Eric Mueller, who lives in Austin and is a reader of our magazine, sent us a supplement to a local paper called Images which lists acts of discrimination against Gypsies. For example, the authorities in Illinois expelled two Gypsies from the state simply because they were Gypsies. This is not an arbitrary act, according to Pennsylvania state law. Pennsylvania Title 53 says: "Whenever ... Gypsies shall be located within any municipality ... the County Department of Health shall have power to order ... to leave said municipality within the time specified."

A Hundred Years On

"Yesterday afternoon the entire force of white miners, about 150 strong, organized, and, arming themselves with shotguns, marched to Chinatown. After firing a volley into the air, they reloaded and ordered the Chinamen (pejorative word for Chinese labourers) to leave. The order was obeyed at once, the Chinamen fleeing to the hills like a drove of sheep, closely pursued by the miners, who fired several volleys at the fugitives with fatal effect. The Chinese quarter was then set on fire and 39 houses ... were destroyed, together with their contents." The bloodbath described by The New York Times on September 4, 1885, took place at the mines of the Union Pacific Company in Rock Springs (Wyoming) and was one in a long chain of race riots that swept the United States.

Philip Nash, a lawyer from the Asian American Legal Defence and Education Fund, cited the incident as an illustration of the deep roots of racial conflict in society. He believes that racial factors are divisible into two categories: "racism by individuals and racialism supported by the resources of those in power." "Systematic racialism, while less discussed, has been extremely effective at channelling black and non-black working-class rage against Asian Americans," Nash maintains. In the late 1960s, in order to camouflage their goals, those in power invented the theory that "good minorities work within the system. And if they were able to make it, then problems of blacks must be their own fault, not the system's."

It is hard, however, to hide facts that stare you in the face. The tragedy of the Fox family was that they came to live in a neighbourhood where the whites unlike their parents were gradually becoming unemployed. But for the blacks, they might have got jobs, explains the leader of a Philadelphia group, set up to "settle" ethnic clashes. According to the newspaper The Village Voice, the mushrooming of ultra-Right racist groups in the Mid-West is the result of the deepening economic crisis among farmers. "The history of the illness [racism, anti-Semitism—**A.A.**] demonstrates that it is most likely to spread in times of economic distress, and most likely to attack those who are hurting from lack of income or the loss of a job," writes the weekly U.S.A. Today.

The "racial illness" is worsening even in the period of economic stabilization, as the fruits of recovery chiefly benefit wealthier people. Every new spiral in cyclic development widens the gulf. "The worst of it is that after three years of 'economic recovery' increasing numbers of Americans are falling into poverty," laments The Philadelphia Inquirer. "Today 4.4 million more Americans are poor than in 1980 and 8.3 million more than in 1970." No juggling with figures can conceal the growth of unemployment in absolute terms.

This is where one should look for an answer to the question of why the authorities in Kansas and Nebraska, who knew the whereabouts of the anti-Semitic headquarters, did not react to complaints about the rampaging thugs from Posse Comitatus for a whole year. And to the question of why members of the Order could share hundreds of thousands of stolen dollars with impunity with the leaders of Ku Klux Klan in Texas, Michigan and North Carolina, and with neonazi chieftains in the District of Columbia. And to the question of why it is anti-racist demonstrators who are the first to be jailed. Eric Mueller wrote to me describing how Texas police beat up Paul Hernandez who took part in an anti-Ku Klux Klan demonstration and then accused him of violating law and order.

An intriguing sidelight is thrown on all these facts by a leaflet addressed to farmers who are being ruined, and saying that the Jews were planning to steal their land. Senator Tom Harkin pointed out the real cause of the farmers' troubles when he said that the present Administration had turned its back on them in refusing to grant them financial aid. But the "racial illness" has no use for the truth.

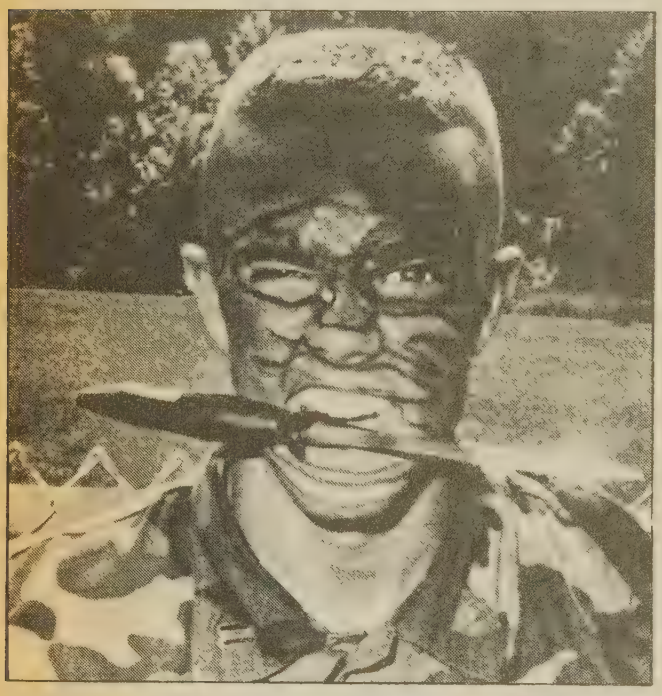
Philip Nash is probably right when he says that racism is backed by those in power. In vain does U.S.A. Today try to find a wonder drug in tolerance or common sense. If the system constantly reproduces racism and intolerance the disease becomes endemic.

A. ARKHIPOV
Our Own Correspondent
New York

A Ku Klux Klan meet in Georgia. They want to turn the United States into an "empire without blacks and Jews."
TASS photo

KILL 'EM ALL

"KILL 'EM ALL, LET GOD SORT 'EM OUT" is a popular U.S. Army motto. The American GI should kill without thought or emotion, with satisfaction rather, modelling himself on Hollywood superman Rambo, who leaves a trail of dead "Reds" in his wake. The American GI should smile as he tosses people out of a helicopter into the sea, as happened in Grenada. The American GI should smile when blasting peaceful villages with heavy ordnance, as has been the case in Lebanon.



To smile in situations like these, one must hate, and hate vehemently. For which reason hate is indoctrinated. As, for instance, at West Point Military Academy. So far this West Point cadet has merely posed for his photo in Stern. But he is already prepared to kill 'em all and let God sort 'em out later.

THE DAY

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TIME TO STOP AND THINK

The Pentagon has not only programmed nuclear incidents, but has also computerized, classified and codified them under such names as Bent Spear, Broken Arrow, and Atomic Lightning.

It might be profitable to adopt this system to classify at least a tiny fraction of the thousands of U.S. nuclear incidents that have already taken place.

BENT SPEAR. In 1976 an American missile transport vehicle burst into flames in the middle of a highway near Würzburg in the Federal Republic of Germany. Similar incidents occurred near Starnberg in May 1978, on the outskirts of the town of Sechselberg in February 1981 and outside Kaiserslautern in June of the same year.

BROKEN ARROW. When a B-52 strategic bomber was about to crashland in 1964, the pilot dropped two nuclear bombs near Goldsboro, North Carolina. As one of the bombs hit the ground five of its six safeguards were destroyed, leaving just one between safety and the detonation of a 24-megaton bomb.

In September 1980 another B-52 carrying nuclear bombs was trapped in a three-hour blaze at a U.S. Air Force base in North Dakota, and it was only thanks to firemen that it was extinguished in time.

Over the five years from 1975 to 1979 inclusive, 125 cases of fuel drainage from Titan-type intercontinental missiles were recorded, which could have meant 125 nuclear explosions.

ATOMIC LIGHTNING. In January 1985 the first stage of a Pershing 2 missile caught fire and exploded at the U.S. Air Force base near Heilbronn, F.R.G. Flying fragments killed three U.S. servicemen, wounded another 16 and almost hit Pershing 2 mis-

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S. Defence Secretary once ome when the U.S. would in the context of the joint bi- For the time being, Canadian sion of the U.S. cruise missile art defences."

Y. KNYAZEV

FREEDOM OF SPEECH

You can look at the Statue of Liberty in New York Bay through a spyglass from the embankment, provided, of course, that you insert the necessary coin beforehand. Or, if you like, you may board a motor launch to observe this symbol of the rights and freedoms of the U.S. citizen from close at hand.

But there are many Americans who gaze not at the Statue of Liberty, but at liberty per se through prison bars. The Reverend Douglas Roth is one. He ended up in jail because of his naive, literal understanding of freedom of speech. In his "seditious" sermons he condemned the anti-labour policies of the bosses of U.S. Steel and other Big Business corporations and took up cudgels for those who had been made redundant. With trade union militants he also launched a campaign to collect donations for an unemployed aid fund.

Two years ago he was forbidden to conduct divine service in a church in Clairton. When he and his supporters refused to move, they were arrested and he was given a four-month sentence for resisting the authorities. Last summer the Lutheran Synod unfrocked him, and when he tried to state his views the guardians of the law re-arrested him there and then. Only recently the Allegheny Circuit court in Pennsylvania pronounced a verdict against Roth when he was again charged with "violating law and order." He will now have to "answer" for his offence and gaze at liberty through prison bars for six months, if not a year.

G. SIDOROVA

ON FALWELL

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TSEV

gathering intelligence about his notorious rival who, for all his legendary strength and equally legendary ugliness, was rather unsophisticated. "Thou art Ilya of Murom," he declared, "I am the Hated Idol." Which at least put the champion in the enviable position of knowing where he stood.

However, as we have observed before (issue No. 3 for this year), in the political arena of contemporary America simplicity is out. The Reverend Jerry Falwell, who has so ingeniously masked his true political complexion behind the visor of the Moral Majority, has now made his debut as leader of the Liberty Federation. Some 500 lovers of liberty flocked to its constituent convention in Washington late last month and barred the doors behind them. Despite this precaution, however, it is now known that the new organization is planning to nominate candidates to elected office at both federal and local levels.

Falwell's organization has already purchased a whole network of cable TV stations. The $12 million annual budget the Federation has drafted shows that it is not short of funds. Indeed, it has even received official encouragement. U.S. Vice-President George Bush has said that the nation desperately needs moral leadership of the kind the Federation is bringing to political life. Apparently Washington thinks it does not have sufficient support for "star wars," the Nicaraguan contras and the South African racists, and is now pinning hopes on Falwell.

V. RUBTSOV

FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

There is a way of destroying the U.S. which is at once simple and ingenious. It does not involve missiles, bombs or lasers. It is far more effective than these and against it even the "space shield" affords no protection.

We learn that Richard Snyder, chairman of Simon and Schuster, is planning to bring out a book in which Fidel Castro discusses some aspects of the developing countries' economic relations with the U.S. Hardly had he announced the forthcoming publication than the council for inter-American security, notorious for its admiration for the Salvadoran fascists, the Nicaraguan contras and the life President of Haiti, sounded a nationwide alarm. Castro, it argued, sought to subvert the American banking system by exhorting Third World countries to cancel their external debts; he was trying to destroy the U.S., and the idea of a U.S. publisher helping him do so was infuriating.

The council president instructed people all over the country to immediately mail Mr Snyder postcards telling him either to drop publication or at least append an anti-Cuban foreword. Unless Mr Snyder gave in to these demands, no American who respected the banking system would enter his shops or buy his books. In short, sanctions, much like those taken against Libya. That's freedom of the press for you!

Y. UZIN

REFLECTIONS ON TWO DISCUSSIONS

LEV TOLKUNOV
Chairman, Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation

From Bonn we went to Geneva where we were scheduled to speak at a conference sponsored by the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research and the French Institute of International Research.

The meeting was attended by prominent experts on disarmament and European security from many countries. But even against this background the Americans stood out. They included such "heavyweights" as former director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency Eugene Rostow, former Assistant Secretary of State and now U.S. Ambassador to the F.R.G. Richard Burt, and Assistant Secretary of Defence Richard Perle. There were also U.S. university professors, but the tone was set by these three. Their submissions were all directed at one end—justifying the continuation of the arms race and the realization of the "star wars" plans.

The "Lag" Plaint Again

I shall begin with the paper presented by Richard Perle. He literally bemoaned what he called the "lag" of the United States. That "lag" is supposedly "catastrophic" in strategic armaments, medium-range missiles and, of course, in conventional weaponry. Perle expatiated on "Soviet violations of the ABM and SALT-2 treaties." The logic of his argumentation and the "facts" he operated with were projected at making it appear as if the U.S. Administration were greatly concerned over these "violations." But surely an Assistant Defence Secretary is well aware that the U.S. representative in the standing consultative commission officially set up to verify the observance of agreements recently confirmed, moreover, in the U.S. Congress, that the Soviet Union is abiding by its commitments.

Why did Perle trot out the alleged Soviet "treaty violations"? To cover up the violations which the United States has been guilty of for years.

The shopworn allegations that the U.S.S.R. has outstripped the U.S. in developing systems of space strike weapons, all the talk about the Krasnoyarsk station which is said to be a violation of the ABM treaty (actually its function is to track objects in space), were designed to justify U.S. actions that in effect cancel out the treaty. It is the Pentagon, of which Perle is one of the top men, that has concocted the "arguments" which the U.S. Administration uses to give its own interpretation of the ABM treaty and in effect to circumvent it.

But for all that Perle's paper differed to some extent from many of his earlier lectures, reports and statements which had been marked by undisguised anti-Sovietism and aggressiveness. Here in Geneva he could not ignore the outcome of the Soviet-American summit and indeed referred to it, urging the solution of outstanding issues through negotiations. He admitted that the process of negotiation had begun and said that this inspired hope, although in his opinion the important thing was how to approach that process. That was as far as Perle's "diplomatic language" went. His whole paper—the abundance of figures "proving" that the U.S. was lagging behind and his exhortations to continue talks—was designed to demonstrate to the West Europeans that the Pentagon is ready for a "softening up," if only of its tone.

The Burt Programme

But what does Washington propose to do on the practical plane? A concrete answer to this question was given by Richard Burt.

Many of the West Europeans were taken aback by his far from academic and still less diplomatic manner of speaking: no explanations, no elucidations, simply laying down the law as to what to do and how to do it.

The keynote of his speech was drawn from the cold-war lexicon—"don't believe those treacherous Russians." Although he exceeded the time limit set for speakers many times over, he failed to adduce a single plausible argument to back up his case and confined himself to calls to arm. He urged the West Europeans to cooperate in the manufacture of up-to-date conventional armaments the destructive power of which approximates that of tactical nuclear weapons. Western Europe, he said, could develop new systems of weapons together with the United States and this would increase its strategic and tactical potential. The problem, he said, is how to integrate new weaponry in the structure of the armed forces. Thus, according to Burt, the thing is not to reduce armaments and armed forces in Central Europe, on which negotiations have been going on in Vienna for more than 10 years now, but to go on with the arms buildup.

He averred that the conclusion of a treaty between NATO and the Warsaw Treaty countries on the non-use of force would not make for stability, without, however, producing any argument to substantiate his contention. He as much as warned the West European powers not to enter into any talks on this question. What is needed is more "transparency," he said, obviously hinting at the talks under way in the framework of the Stockholm conference.

To seek agreement with the Soviet Union on refraining from first use of nuclear weapons was also dangerous, the American diplomat insisted. This was sheer demagogy, he said. But he did not bother to examine this problem in depth and in its totality. Yet were the West to undertake this commitment, as the Soviet Union did some years ago, there could be a radical change for the better in international relations.

Burt advanced a whole programme for Europe. Above all, he urged turning down the proposals for nuclear-free zones, without even trying to explain why such zones are reprehensible. He went on to declare that the very concept of non-nuclear corridors was harmful. Lastly, he propounded the thesis of replacing outdated nuclear weapons systems with new and more accurate ones.

As regards the widely current opinion in West European circles that armed forces should be restructured along defensive lines, Burt declared point-blank that such concepts were divorced from the reality and did not take into account the threat supposedly emanating from the Warsaw Treaty countries.

Dwelling on chemical weapons, Burt

Continued from our issue No. 4.

unambiguously reproached the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Social Democrats for their joint proposals for the creation in Central Europe of a zone free of chemical weapons. It would be just too bad for peace, he said, if the U.S. were unable to develop new types of these weapons. The chemical disarmament of the U.S., he declared, would lead to the danger of nuclear weapons being used.

The message of Burt's speech did not escape anyone at the conference. Clearly, certain transatlantic quarters are greatly disturbed by the results of the Geneva summit. Hence the stepped up activity in the political and propaganda spheres within the country and especially in Western Europe. These circles fear that even the initial understandings reached in Geneva could give a spur to the movement for détente, activate politically forces not in agreement with the bellicose U.S. policy.

Europe is ripe for a return to détente, and Washington is well aware of this. That explains why leading U.S. political, military and diplomatic figures have latterly been making such frequent trips to Western Europe (not that they were rare visitors there before this). Richard Burt, for instance, delivered shortly before the Geneva conference a special report in Munich on the danger of "European parochialism." Many here in Europe, he said, consider it moral, convenient and economically attractive for the United States to undertake the risk and the cost of defending Western interests—in the Persian Gulf, for instance —while Europe builds economic bridges to the East.

Burt, the Springer newspaper Die Welt said, urged the United States' European allies, including the F.R.G., to display greater activity on the international political scene inasmuch as the Federal Republic had become "too strong" and there was too much at stake to leave all the "unpleasant tasks" to the U.S.

A few days later Burt addressed the 78th Bergedorf meeting in Bad Godesberg. His speech, which in effect was the opening address, was frankly aggressive and anti-Soviet in character. This was immediately after the Soviet-American summit, and Burt, in what was primarily a briefing for the Western media, gave his own interpretation of that meeting. He claimed that it was the U.S. that, by building up its economic, political and military strength, had forced the Soviet Union to go to Geneva, which made the summit, in his view, "a major American victory."

Burt urged that the latest technology be used to step up "pressure from strength" on the Soviet Union to make it change its "behaviour" and to overcome the "division" of Europe. We are accustomed to hear this sort of talk from hawks not enjoying diplomatic status, but evidently Burt considers that the post of U.S. ambassador in Bonn empowers him to issue instructions of a clearly revanchist order.

And, finally, the third thesis Burt advanced at the Bergedorf meeting was that the Western countries should intensify the human rights campaign with the object of bringing about internal changes in the Soviet Union.

All this adds up to a whole programme fraught with great danger to peace in Europe. It is curious indeed to see a U.S. ambassador propounding it. Still more curious is it that he has mounted his own private propaganda campaign to win it all possible support.

Who Is Violating Treaties

But to return to the conference in Geneva. Despite the obvious pressure from the Right, the discussion developed according to its own inner logic dictated by both the subject of the papers submitted—and they related to Europe—and by the interest displayed in them by the absolute majority of the European participants. In making this point we in no way wish to question the rights of the U.S. and Canada as parties to the all-European process begun in Helsinki. We have no intention of reproaching our colleagues of "European" or "American" isolationism, as Ambassador Burt did in Munich. We saw no signs of such isolationism, for in our time all realize very well how closely everything in the world is interlinked.

The third main speaker for the United States was Eugene Rostow.

The one-time head of the U.S. government agency set up specifically to deal with disarmament matters declared point-blank that the talks in which so many diplomats are engaged in Stockholm, Vienna, Geneva, Madrid, Helsinki and elsewhere are futile exercises. Here Rostow tried to play on the discontent in Western Europe with the slow progress made in talks and at times with their ineffectiveness.

But what alternative did he offer the West Europeans? The political stability "that would prevail if the nations achieve general respect throughout the state system for the rules of international law regarding the international use of force and the sanctity of treaties and other international agreements." But who does not know that it is precisely the United States that is constantly violating treaties and agreements, the standards of international law, and not only in the periphery, Latin America or Africa, but in Western Europe itself.

Criticizing various negotiations, Rostow said that they deal with the symptoms, rather than the causes, that they do not strengthen security either in Europe or anywhere else. This is an obvious case of juggling with the facts: his reference to an abstract world order was intended as an additional argument against the negotiations envisaged at the Geneva summit.

Speaking of SDI, Rostow said: "The prospects for progress in the field of defence against nuclear weapons should be welcomed throughout the world as a step towards a condition of political stability compatible with true détente."

Rostow has it all down pat. If you want détente, accept our "star wars," which, he says, "is the most radical and idealistic proposal since the American offer of the Baruch Plan in 1946." Here you have it all: history, publicity, and a guarantee of security. As if there were no serious objections to SDI in the United States itself.

Needless to say, the U.S. spokesmen carefully camouflage the real purpose of Washington's "star wars" plan and the consequences it could have. But it is perfectly obvious to both the opponents and the votaries of SDI that its realization would close once and for all the only realistic way out of the dangerous situation to which the nuclear arms buildup has led. If the idea of reducing nuclear armaments on the basis of the principle of equality and equal security all the way to their complete destruction were to be discarded, all that has already been achieved would be reduced to nought. This is why Rostow waxed eloquent on the uselessness of disarmament talks.

The Facts versus Lies

At both the meeting in Bonn with the F.R.G. Social Democrats and at the Geneva conference, the Soviet representatives, basing themselves on the findings of scientists, stressed the imperative need to prevent an arms race in space and to take urgent joint action to this end. Our position is clear: the way to the elimination of the new and terrible threat to all mankind lies through termination of all work on developing space strike systems. The orbiting of any weapons capable of being used against targets in space and on the Earth's surface and the use of force in outer space or from outer space against the Earth must be prohibited.

The peoples and the overwhelming majority of countries are for this. The United Nations (with the sole exception of the United States) adopted a resolution calling on the states to exclude outer space from the sphere of the arms race.

Last autumn the Soviet Union submitted to the U.N. a proposal on the main guidelines and principles of international cooperation in the peaceful exploration of outer space in the conditions of its non-militarization. By so doing it once again offered a peaceful alternative to the American plans for carrying the arms race over to outer space.

As for the contention repeated at the conference that the U.S. is "lagging behind" in nuclear armaments, its sole purpose was to cover up the buildup of new types of mass destruction weapons. Let me cite one statement by Rostow on this score: "The Soviet Union has a lead of more than 3.5 to 1 in the number of warheads on ICBMs and a lead of more than 4 to 1 in the throw weight of these weapons." Perle too bombarded his hearers with similar figures. This cock-and-bull story has been harped on for so long that one would think it would be worn thin by now, nevertheless it still unfortunately gets a hearing.

Recall the lamentations in the 1950s over the United States' "strategic bomber lag." They helped the Pentagon to obtain the appropriations needed to build a veritable armada of bombers. Then it transpired that the figure given for Soviet bombers was 3-4 times higher than the actual number.

In the early 1960s the "Soviet missile threat" was magnified 15-20 times over. The Pentagon used it as a pretext for deploying more than 1,000 ICBMs.

In the 1970s the U.S. began to arm its strategic missiles with highly accurate individually targetable multiple warheads. This could not but lead to a sharp increase in the total number of nuclear warheads. At the same time a new weapon—cruise missiles—began to be developed.

The Soviet Union naturally had to take countermeasures, but these were never aimed at gaining military superiority over the United States.

Messrs Burt, Rostow and Perle close their eyes to the real facts for the simple reason that, judging by everything, the facts do not suit them. The facts conclusively show that between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. there exists a parity in strategic nuclear strength which was repeatedly verified over a period of seven years during the drafting of the SALT-2 treaty and officially recorded in Vienna in 1979 when that treaty was signed.

The number of strategic delivery vehicles on both sides has not changed since then. The U.S.S.R. has slightly more than the U.S. (2,504 : 2,210), but as before the U.S. has far more warheads, counting those on long-range cruise missiles carried by heavy bombers.

On the whole though, there is rough nuclear equivalence. This is pointed out in so many words also in a U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff report to Congress in 1985. It is confirmed likewise in a report published by the authoritative London International Institute for Strategic Studies.

The SALT-2 treaty limited all the types of strategic offensive weapons the Soviet Union and the United States had at the end of the seventies: ICBM launching installations, submarine-based ballistic missiles, and heavy bombers. All the three components of strategic armaments were seen as an integral whole, which is something Rostow evidently does not want to admit. This approach made it possible to establish the exact balance in strategic forces and to ensure strategic parity between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. despite differences between the composition of their strategic armaments as regards types of weapons and geographic and other factors. Therefore the Washington spokesmen's contentions that the Soviet Union has a threefold advantage as regards ICBMs and warheads on them is one-sided, to say the least. The point is that the U.S. has approximately the same advantage as regards warheads on submarine-based missiles.

At the same time the United States has continued to increase the number of its warheads. By the beginning of the 1970s it had twice as many nuclear warheads on strategic carriers than the U.S.S.R., yet it continued to pile them up. As a result, the number of warheads on American strategic carriers has more than trebled.

The Soviet Union has proposed to the United States that agreement be reached on a total ban for both sides on space strike weapons and a radical reduction, by 50 per cent, in the number of nuclear weapons capable of reaching each other's territory. The Soviet proposal envisages limiting the total number of Soviet and American nuclear weapons capable of reaching each other's territory to 1,250 and 1,680 respectively. In other words, the U.S.S.R. agrees to the United States having a certain advantage as regards delivery vehicles, having in mind that after the 50 per cent reduction in them the two sides will have an equal number of nuclear warheads—6,000 each, which would ensure a rough strategic balance. This proposal was incorporated in the programme for the stage-by-stage reduction and elimination of nuclear weapons set forth in Mikhail Gorbachev's recent statement.

Mention should be made of another proposal advanced by Rostow which could only evoke amazement. He said literally the following: "Of course, it would be preferable in every way if the Soviet Union were ready to assume its responsibilities for the Charter and for international law more generally as a permanent member of the Security Council, much as Russia cooperated with the other great powers of Europe throughout most of the century after 1815 in order to minimize conflict and prevent general war." It is hard to understand how a man with Rostow's knowledge of history and of the socio-political changes that have taken place in Russia in this time could suggest that it return to the Holy Alliance and the policy pursued by Nicholas I in Europe.

A London peace poster.

Drawing on Experience

I shall not dwell on all the contradictions and exaggerations in the speeches of the U.S. representatives. They did their utmost to find arguments of every possible order—historical, theoretical and practical—and when these fell short of the mark, had recourse to unsubstantiated accusations to justify the militarization of outer space and their unwillingness to agree to radical reductions of strategic nuclear armaments. The militarization of political thinking in the United States has gone far indeed. At the Soviet-American summit

the leaders of the two countries declared in their joint statement that nuclear war must never be unleashed, underscored the need to prevent any military conflict, nuclear or conventional, between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A., and pledged not to seek military superiority. However, the mode of thinking, the actions, and the tactics of the spokesmen of the U.S. Administration and the academic elite close to it highlight the difficulties that must be overcome before any cardinal understandings can be reached.

The Soviet representatives vigorously upheld the "spirit of Geneva" and exposed everything that tends to erode it. We stressed the need primarily to refrain from actions which could nullify what was achieved at the Geneva summit, from actions that could block negotiations and undermine the existing restraints on the arms buildup. This presupposes, among other things, honest and strict observance of the ABM treaty and of the relevant provisions of the SALT-2 treaty.

The most important thing, of course, is to lay the groundwork for really terminating the arms race and preventing it from being carried over to outer space and to begin taking practical steps towards reducing the nuclear arsenals that have been accumulated.

No sensible person, whatever his ideology or political affiliations, who has given any thought to ways of preventing nuclear war and to the chances of the survival of the human race can fail to see that peaceful coexistence alone can save the nations from catastrophe. Experience has shown that difference in social systems and ideologies is no obstacle to normal, civilized relations between states. It was precisely the development and deepening of the relations between the socialist and capitalist countries of Europe in the 1970s that gave rise to détente, which we consider a natural and essential stage on the way to the creation of a universal and reliable system of security. The statement by CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, the programme for ridding our planet of nuclear weapons by the end of this century contained in that epochal document, calls precisely for the creation of such a system. ■

THE TENTACLES REACH FAR AND WIDE

BORIS ASOYAN

Most Americans as like as not would not believe you if you were to tell them that South African Big Business has penetrated deep into the economy of the United States. Indeed, it is hard to conceive of the apartheid regime having stretched its tentacles all the way across the ocean. Yet that is the case.

At a time when the public in the West is demanding an end to investment in South Africa, that country's Big Business is quietly expanding its foothold in the United States, Canada and Western Europe, taking over weak companies and cautiously closing in on the stronger. Behind this seemingly random process lies a clear-cut master plan which is a component of the "grand strategy of apartheid" aimed at creating a situation when the "decadent liberal West" will no longer be able to dictate its will to white South Africa but will find itself increasingly dependent on it.

It is hardly by chance that Pretoria speaks more and more often about the developed capitalist countries being dependent on it for raw materials. And not only speaking of this, but using it as a lever of pressure. South African President Pieter Botha, for instance, has on repeated occasions threatened to retaliate if international pressure on his country is stepped up. It would be enough for Pretoria to stop the export of chromium, he has said, to put a million Americans out of work and bring the entire automobile industry of Western Europe to a standstill. Botha has cited impressive figures: South Africa supplies 25 per cent of the chromium, 80 per cent of the platinum, and 36 per cent of the vanadium consumed in the United States. Britain imports from South Africa half of the manganese ore and vanadium and 46 per cent of the chromium it uses. Besides, other Western countries are to a large extent dependent on South African minerals (all told, South Africa exports about 50 types of mineral raw materials).

Statements of this order are largely propaganda, of course, for threats are one thing and giving effect to them quite another. In the first place, the South African economy would suffer most of all and, secondly, the West could, if need be, find alternative sources of raw materials.

Aware of this, Pretoria is seeking quietly to strengthen its positions abroad.

South African Big Business readily enters into joint undertakings with Western firms, invests in real estate and buys securities and corporation stock in diverse fields in other countries. This gives it access to up-to-date technology and capital, enables it to acquire customers and thereby stimulates the growth of the South African economy, not to speak of profits. Preference is given to companies with an established reputation and clientele operating in the key branches of industry—mining, automobile, metallurgy, electronics, oil and gas, nuclear power—as well as in banking.

In this drive the leading part is played by the giant Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, which, together with the kindred De Beers concern, controls the world market for gold, diamonds and many other minerals.

As far back as the 1970s the former head of Anglo-American, Harry Oppenheimer, spoke quite frankly of his plans for penetrating the economy of Western countries and began carrying these plans into effect. He started by setting up a subsidiary in the Bermudas—the Minerals and Resources Corporation (Minorco) with a capital of more than $2 billion. Minorco soon became the coordinator of the expansion of the Anglo-American Corporation and took over dozens of North American companies operating in gold, copper, ura-

nium, coal, nickel, oil, gas, platinum, tin, iron ore, and other minerals.

One of the biggest acquisitions of Minorco was the Engelhard Corporation with interests ranging from precious stones and metals to electronic and medical equipment. It has enterprises in the U.S., Britain, Canada, Italy, Australia, France, Japan, Mexico, Venezuela, and Switzerland.

Another Minorco subsidiary—the Consolidated Goldfields corporation —controls the American Newmont Mining Company, which has a ramified system of subsidiaries in the oil, uranium, zinc, and cement industries, including such large firms as Atlantic Cement, Newmont Oil, and Carlin Gold Mining of Nevada. It has a substantial interest in Peabody Coal, the biggest coal-mining corporation in the United States. Charter Consolidated, which is controlled by South African capital, recently bought 51.2 per cent of the stock of the national Mine Service Company, which manufactures mining equipment.

In 1983 Minorco and the Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting company (also owned by Anglo-American) established control over the large American Inspiration Resources concern which has considerable interests in the oil, gas and coal-mining industries and the production of chemical fertilizers. Inspiration Resources gave South Africa access to the stock of such major companies as Inspiration Coal, Inspiration Consolidated Copper, Inspiration Mines, Terra Chemicals International, Inspiration Resources Marketing, Danville Investments, and Madison Resources.

Minorco is the biggest stockholder in the giant New York brokerage firm Phibro-Salomon, which also specializes in real estate. Through this firm Anglo-American made substantial investments in oil prospecting and extraction in North America (South Africa has no oil and gas resources of its own). A special role in the South African expansion is played by the above-mentioned Madison Resources corporation and its energy subsidiaries, Trend, Vanderbilt, Adobe, Conquest and Marline, which engage in oil and gas prospecting not only in the U.S., but also in other countries, Asian included.

Control over Consolidated Goldfields enables South African capital to exploit the Ortiz goldfield in New Mexico and the silver mines of Shafter, Texas.

A similar picture prevails in Canada. Minorco set up here the Anglo-Amcan of Canada, which is vigorously penetrating leading branches of industry. The above-mentioned Hudson Bay Mining and Smelting Corporation has taken over the Terra group, which owns agricultural enterprises. South African capital also controls the Francana oil and gas company.

Anglo-American alone owns 106 companies in 32 states of the U.S., and 37 in Canada.

Other South African companies are breaking into the United States over the trail blazed by Anglo-American. Stocks and Stocks, South Africa's biggest privately owned construction firm, has obtained a contract for laying out golf courses in Houston and building residential blocks and shopping centres for the personnel of the Kennedy space centre in Florida. Another South African corporation, Abercom Group, Ltd., bought a ventilator manufacturing company from Westinghouse.

The foreign subsidiaries of South African banks have come to play a notable role in obtaining credits. For instance, Nedbank, one of South Africa's biggest banks, has branches in London, Zurich and Frankfort. As was pointed out in the U.N. Secretary-General's report of September 1985 on the operations of transnational corporations in South Africa and Namibia, while most developing countries have great difficulty in obtaining new loans, Pretoria has no trouble in borrowing, moreover, on preferential terms, despite the mounting campaign for a full boycott of South Africa.

In 1983 South Africa obtained international credits to the sum of $532 million, and in the first half of 1984, $659 million. This is roughly one third of the total loans obtained in this period by all the developing countries taken together.

South Africa's positions in the economies of the U.S., Canada and Western Europe are made use of to circumvent bans on the delivery to Pretoria of arms, other military equipment, and computers.

It is not surprising that Americans know very little about the penetration of South African Big Business into the U.S. The Anglo-American and other South African companies operate with extreme caution and avoid contacts with the press.

South African businessmen realize that their nationality is no recommendations for them. Unwanted publicity has already resulted in the collapse of some of their plans. This happened, for instance, when Solomon Kerzner, proprietor of the hotel and gaming house concern Sun International, wanted to set up a casino in Atlantic City, one of the biggest gaming centres in the U.S. He went into partnership with the small American Leisure firm, which owned land on the seashore. That a small, little-known company like American Leisure, with a dubious reputation to boot (it had been repeatedly suspected of illegal real estate speculation), had gone in for a $300 million project surprised business quarters until it was learned that American Leisure was merely a cover. All the money was put up by Kerzner.

The news of the plans to set up a South African casino in Atlantic City evoked a storm of protest both in the U.S. and other countries. The U.N. anti-apartheid committee called for urgent action to prevent the deal. The Atlantic City authorities likewise opposed the project. But the indignation in the city, half of whose population are blacks, did not faze Kerzner, who declared he had no intention of abandoning his plans to build the casino. The time will come, he said, when we will be received here with open arms.

Thousands of Americans and Canadians are thus working for South Afri-

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A sit-down strike of Columbia University students demanding effective sanctions against South Africa.

AP—TASS photo

can capitalists. The situation is the same in Western Europe, though few here suspect that some of the oldest and highly respected firms have long since been taken over by business tycoons from Pretoria. South African investments in Western Europe run to billions of dollars, more than half of them falling to the share of Britain.

When Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher declares that Britain does not propose to apply sanctions to South Africa because this would allegedly hit the black South Africans, she is misrepresenting the facts. The reason is altogether different. London does not want to spoil its relations with Pretoria because its economic interests have long been closely linked with South Africa's. The British economy, as we have pointed out, depends on South African raw materials, and with the inflow of South African capital this dependence makes itself more keenly felt.

In Britain, Anglo-American has as free a hand as it has in the United States. Dozens of companies have long been swallowed up by this giant predator. Using the same methods as in the U.S. and Canada, the corporation moves without haste and with minimum publicity. A cross section of the capital invested in the key branches of British industry reveals how deeply South African money has penetrated many of them. In some cases Anglo-American is so deeply entrenched in the British economic organism that it is hard to imagine how the British could get rid of it even if they wished to do so. The once proud and powerful British lion is now to a great extent eating out of the hands of the racists.

By 1984 Charter Consolidated had bought 29.9 per cent of the stock of the London brokerage firm Rowe and Pitman, one of the top ten brokers on the London Stock Exchange, and acquired a substantial share of the stock of such major companies as Johnson Matthey and Matthey Rustenburg Refiners (precious metals). The Engelhard Corporation, mentioned above, sells Britain metals of the platinum group. Through Phibro-Salomon, Anglo-American controls the British Derby and Company, one of the principal importers of South African mineral raw materials and the owner of a number of metallurgical firms, including RGB Stainless and Charles Wade and Company.

Besides Anglo-American, Barlow Rand, South Africa's third biggest corporation, which has interests in all branches of the engineering industry, operates on a large scale in Britain. Through its British subsidiary, Thomas Barlow Holdings, it controls among others the Smith Druce Metals firm. Rand Selection, Goldfields Property, Cape-Gate, P.G. Industries, General Tire and Rubber, and other South African corporations have substantial investments in British companies.

"No to Apartheid," say these demonstrators in Washington.

TASS photo

In 1982 two South African banks sought permission to buy a British bank in order to open a reliable channel for the inflow of money to South Africa. Nothing came of it at the time, but Pretoria has not given up the idea.

South Africa naturally does not publicize its successful business undertakings in America and Western Europe. But why do the Western politicians who assure their peoples that they want to see an end to apartheid keep silent? The answer is simple: the interests of both are so closely intertwined that they cannot cut off the South African tentacles without losing their own "blood"—their profits. In this sense the apartheid system can indeed be considered an inseparable part of the Western world. Hence it is not surprising that the Western powers support a nazi-like regime, or that U.S. and British Big Business takes the stand it does on the question of sanctions against South Africa. Western public opinion is more and more insistent in demanding effective actions against the racists. It is public pressure that accounts for the hurriedly held secret meetings between the top men of the Western and South African transnationals at which recommendations to the governments on how to extricate themselves from an embarrassing position were worked out. Judging by everything, at these meetings, held in the spring of 1985, an exact assessment was made of what sanctions against South Africa would cost the U.S. and West European capitalists. Under the pressure of public opinion in their own countries, some purely symbolic measures were taken which, while involving some losses, did not essentially threaten the racist regime.

Why is the Western press so reticent on this score? The point is that South African capital is penetrating not only the economy but also the mass media of the West.

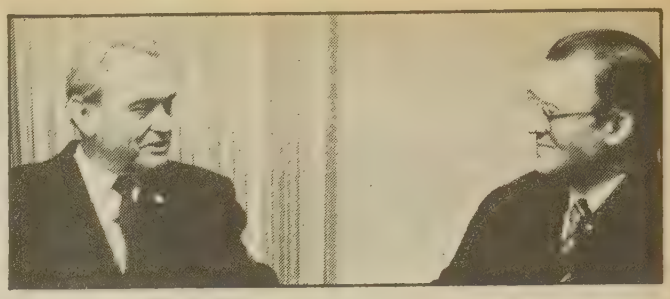
There is a powerful South African lobby in the U.S. and Western Europe, which is financed by the South African government and Big Business as well as by U.S. and West European ultra-Rights, who see in Pretoria a partner in anti-communism. The interests of white South Africa are upheld also by the omnipotent monopolies that control the Western news media. They are vitally interested in the perpetuation of the apartheid regime, which is a source of lush profits for them. There are, of course, no few honest journalists in the U.S. and Europe who give a true picture of apartheid, but they do not set the tone. The Western TV and press carry mostly information that is by and large favourable to South Africa.

Here are a few instances showing what a strong influence South Africa wields in the mass media in the U.S. Madison Resources, for example, which is controlled by the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa, holds 33 per cent of the stock of the leading U.S. book and magazine publishing concern Arcata Corporation. Arcata holds first place in U.S. book publishing and third place for magazines, which include such widely known publications as People, Time, Newsweek, U.S. News and World Report, and Reader's Digest.

Not so long ago an ultra-Right group that styles itself For Fairness in Media, founded by the notorious hawk Senator Jesse Helms, announced that it would buy as much of the stock of the CBS television network as was needed to put a stop to its "liberalism." The CBS discovered that one of the leaders of this group, Thomas Ellis, had had suspiciously close connections with the South African government. Later, it transpired that Pretoria had contributed two million rands to an anti-CBS fund.

Such facts, and there is no dearth of them, show that a South African "fifth column" is at work in the United States and Western Europe. ■

The draft of the new text of the CPSU Programme provides for further major progress in industrial automation in the coming decades involving a changeover to automatic factory shops and plants as well as automated control and design systems. Research directed towards what is known as artificial intelligence is closely linked with the accomplishment of this goal. Academician GERMOGEN POSPELOV, Chairman of the Artificial Intelligence Research Council of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, told our correspondent Yuri Samoilov about progress so far and the outlook for the future.



ARTIFICIAL INTELLIGENCE: FANTASIES AND REALITY

Is it possible to create artificial intelligence as the public at large sees it?

This is out of the question. The human brain is an extremely complex system comprising about forty billion interconnected cells, each cell being incredibly complex in itself. There is a hypothesis that comes close to the truth whereby each individual brain cell processes incoming signals like a computer. Consequently, no machine, however perfect, can stand comparison with the human brain. "Artificial intelligence" is a metaphor for research jointly undertaken by mathematicians, linguists, psychologists, engineers, and other experts. It signifies computer intelligence, not human intelligence which cannot be created artificially.

There is another reason why your question cannot be answered in the affirmative. It was discovered in the early seventies that the two hemispheres of the human brain discharge different functions. Each hemisphere has its own mode of thinking. One thinks in terms of logic, and the other—in images. Our thinking is based on two types of perception: sensory (unconscious) and conscious. What man is conscious of and, consequently, can put into words, constitutes only a small proportion of the total work of the brain. Thinking processes do not lend themselves to direct observation. They can be judged indirectly, by the way the incoming information is transformed by the brain. This is why we know so little about what's going on in the "imaginative" hemisphere which makes it impossible to replicate human intelligence artificially. The world of emotions, mental attitudes and the subconscious, which has a tremendous role to play in man's thinking and behaviour, is inaccessible to us so far. It is not unlikely that in the remote future machines capable of a loose imitation of human intelligence will be created. This will be made possible, however, only given a now unpredictable revolution in computer technology.

Let us try and visualize this distant future. Certain medical scientists are of the opinion that a machine possessing artificial human-type intelligence complete with emotions, consciousness and subconsciousness would be regarded as a creature entitled to all human rights.

I'd rather not discuss exaggeratedly fantastic notions which, to my mind, are unlikely to be translated into reality in the foreseeable future. Certain experts ascribe human qualities to machines without sufficient grounds. This tendency is nothing new and, in fact, has its roots deep in the history of culture. We find animated objects in fairy tales and legends. Science is not a fairy tale, however. A machine, no matter how perfect, is so much dead matter. It cannot possibly have any feelings, emotions, needs or wishes characteristic of a human being. Can you imagine a machine in love? I can't. And what about the life experience man gains in society as he constantly deals with purely human problems? A machine cannot have any thinking at all, either logical or imaginative. This is a property of highly-organized live matter alone.

But what about the biological computers, now being developed in the U.S.S.R., Japan and the U.S.A.?

Such computers have nothing to do with thinking, either. Sooner or later the potentialities of modern microelectronics will be exhausted. A changeover to the molecular level would open up new vistas of computer development and miniaturization. Introduced into the circulatory system, a tiny biocomputer would control blood chemistry, indicate the condition of blood vessels and warn of any danger of cardial infarction or stroke. However, such computers are still a long way off. Up to now scientists engaged in developing the rapid-action molecular switches of future computers have tried to use self-sustained wave oscillations discovered by Soviet experts. The adherents of molecular electronics hope that the replacement of silicon microcircuits with compound organic materials will increase data recording density to an extent unthinkable today. The first steps made in this direction are most encouraging. The Biophysics Institute of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, for instance, has obtained extra-thin film of "bacteriorhodopsin" protein, every molecule of which changes colour on exposure to a laser beam. Films like that are susceptible of multiple recording and erasure, and can make an ideal medium for data storage. A disc of this film the size of an ordinary LP record can hold enough

information to fill tens of thousands of volumes.

Still, some scientists believe that artificial intelligence is a realistic proposition and that it could even surpass ours. More, they say it could be created by the end of the 20th century.

Such statements are made, as a rule, either by non-scientists or by experts who do not deal with this specific problem professionally and have only a superficial notion of it. True, there are inveterate optimists in our midst as well. I think these prognoses, unsubstantiated scientifically, come from the current overenthusiasm about cybernetics. The once sceptical and even negative attitude to it has now gone to the other extreme. Attempts have been made to investigate the human brain using a computer model but nothing has come of them. I am sure, however, that research into what is rather inappropriately termed "artificial intelligence" will continue to grow in importance from year to year.

Computers using advanced software aid man in his intellectual pursuits in various spheres. Automation of production should be accompanied by automation of control. A certain balance is to be maintained here lest we should come up against the phenomenon known as "information crisis." With the dramatic increase in the range of products, manufacturing processes and all kinds of services, the managerial sphere loses its hold over production planning and control processes and the flow of material. This shows in shortages in supply and failures to meet mutual delivery schedules. Almost 25 per cent of all those employed in the industrialized countries (50 per cent in the U.S.) are now involved in endless paperwork. If vigorous measures are not taken to computerize planning and control it will impede the growth of labour efficiency to a still greater extent.

It has been estimated that office employees' efficiency is growing at approximately half the rate of industrial workers. How can office work efficiency be stepped up?

This can be done chiefly by means of computers. Personal computers are going to be of great help in this respect. Compact and easy to handle, they make it possible to follow every calculation stage by stage and to make the necessary corrections by means of a graph plotter and a display. Moreover, they can be connected to higher-capacity computers as "intelligence terminals" and, what is no less important, organized into computer networks. The extensive introduction of these networks would mean a revolution in office work.

Could you illustrate this?

Well, supposing I am to do some calculations in the planning sphere. Upon running my initial data through a computer, I learn that the manufacture of certain products requires certain equipment and certain production facilities. I ask a neighbouring department which of my requirements it can meet, and the reply appears on my display right away. Then I run my programme through the computer again, with the new data added, but the result does not suit me. I apply to another department, then to a third, and finally find what I want. In this quick and convenient way one can do a job which used to take months of correspondence.

But a telephone conversation is not a document!

A request is not merely a telephone conversation. It is also a visual display presentation and a printout. The same applies to the coordination of technical drawings. Whenever I address a colleague in another department or another institution, the drawing I want to coordinate with him and the text of my request appear on his screen. All the necessary adjustments or replacements can thus be made without undue delay.

What about signatures? Aren't documents and drawings invalid without them?

If you want to sign a document, all you have to do is to say your name distinctly into a telephone receiver. The computer will print it out, and the document will take legal effect. Every individual's voice is as unique as his fingerprints. A computer will single it out from millions of other voices stored in its memory. This rules out the possibility of "forgery." Another advantage personal computers offer is that as distinct from large multi-access computers they can be used at your convenience. This is your personal computer for your own exclusive use. You can store all your archives in it, look up any document on the screen at any time, and apply it to solving a variety of complicated problems which previously only big computers could cope with.

The universal use of computers has made communication with them an urgent problem. Programmers who compile routines in computer languages mediate between users and computers today. This makes the computers difficult of access to experts without any knowledge of programming. Is anything being done to make communication with computers in our own language possible?

The POET data retrieval systems, developed in the Soviet Union, are now being used with much success. Intended for storing economic and industrial information, they can be used by a data recipient without a mediator. Just type out your request in Russian, and the answer will appear on the computer's screen in fifteen seconds. Such systems, with the information stored in them continuously updated, keep the user up to date with the economic and production situation and facilitate planning and control.

Do you have to know the fundamentals of programming in order to communicate with such an information retrieval system in Russian?

Not at all.

Why then should programming be taught in secondary schools? There will certainly be quite a few such systems by the beginning of the third millennium.

Communication with an overwhelming majority of the computers now in production and use calls for a knowledge of programming. This situation will continue over the next few years, and it will be up to those now at, or just out of, school to operate these computers. Furthermore, one must consider a steady rise in the output of numerically controlled machine-tools, industrial robots and various automatic production and design systems which can be communicated with in special machine languages only. Hence the need for instruction in programming at the secondary school level. Besides, this kind of instruction does children a world of good—while learning computer programming they also learn rational thinking.

In the more distant future the situation may change. By the end of the century the U.S., for instance, will have an estimated 120 million visual display units intended for users without any knowledge of programming. More than a million programmers will then be needed. These programmers will have to be highly enough skilled to be able to create various systems using which will require no knowledge of programming.

Another problem which cannot be solved unless we train more programmers is software maintenance. In

COMMUNIQUE OF THE 12th CONFERENCE OF FOREIGN MINISTERS OF KAMPUCHEA, LAOS AND VIETNAM

The twelfth conference of the foreign ministers of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam was held on January 23-24, 1986, in Vientiane, capital of the Lao People's Democratic Republic.

1. The conference holds the view that in 1985 a new phase in the evolution of the situation in the world as well as in Southeast Asia, Asia generally and the Pacific was ushered in owing to the growth of the peace and revolutionary forces. In spite of the obstacles created by the confrontationist forces, dialogue and peaceful coexistence have become a powerful, irresistible trend which opens new possibilities of improving the international and regional situation.

2. The conference hails the new achievements of the three Indo-China countries, the growth of their unity as well as their solidarity with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. It highly assesses the revolutionary gains of the Lao People's Democratic Republic as manifested in the impressive celebration of its tenth anniversary which showed the determination of the Lao people to forge ahead to new victories in defending and building socialism. The conference is heartened by the success of the fifth congress of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea

our country and abroad there are special centres employing large staffs of programmers and offering software maintenance services on a national scale.

Do information retrieval systems respond to oral inquiries?

You can make your inquiries of such a system not only in textual form, but orally as well. The answers will also be either visual, or audio if the system in question is equipped with an audio response unit (capable of phonetical analysis and synthesis) in addition to its morphological, syntactic and sense analyzers. The first—but highly promising—steps have already been made towards the solution of the complicated problems involved in the development of such an audio response unit. Digital combinations representing words are put into the computer's memory. Upon picking up an oral instruction, the computer translates it into figures and, if their combinations coincide with those stored in its memory, does as it is told.

This is the operating principle of systems capable of understanding and printing out rather primitive texts. They are very convenient. A system like that will spare a foreman, for instance, the trouble of making out a requisition for materials in the factory office; he will simply dictate it into a microphone and it will be typed automatically in the process. I should also like to mention systems capable of converting texts into speech. They are bound to find wide application in reference services, and will prove of invaluable help to the blind.

In the early fifties many thought that computers would be able to translate, given a dramatic increase in computation speeds and storage capacity. What's the current approach to this problem?

This has turned out to be a much more difficult matter than we thought. Computer speed and storage capacity have an important role to play here, of course. But the main difficulty lies in teaching the computer to understand phrase meanings. People understand each other perfectly well even if some seemingly important words are omitted in their speech. Life experience, intonations and gestures help interlocutors fill in missing words. The brain brings semantic order and system to the enormous amounts of information it contains. Therefore, the computers' data storage system, which was good in solving ordinary problems, proved unequal to intellectual problems such as translation. After the computers had been "taught" to extract and represent the meaning of incoming information, automatic translation became a more realistic goal. At Informelectro and at All-Union Centre of Translations, computers translate pieces of scientific and technical texts at a sufficiently high level.

What about fiction?

This is something incomparably more difficult to do. Fiction abounds in figurative expressions, in words the meaning of which depends on context, in phrases expressing temporal, spatial and cause-and-effect relationships. Special logics making it possible to bring out phrase meanings have been developed for the translation of such texts. Nevertheless, the progress we have made in this field to date is not as impressive as that in the translation of scientific and technical texts.

What trends will the development of computer technology take in the near future?

The output of personal computers will grow rapidly. Medium computers performing 4-5 million operations per second and computers capable of handling very complicated problems at a speed of up to 10 billion operations per second will not be neglected either.

which summed up the remarkable achievements of the Kampuchean people in defending and building the new Kampuchea. The People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam reiterate that the withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteer forces will continue during 1986 and will be completed by 1990, as previously stated.

3. Having been victims of the longest and most bloody wars, the three Indo-China peoples ardently desire peace and an early end to the undeclared war against the Kampuchean people so as to reach as soon as possible a political solution to the question of Kampuchea and to that of peace and stability in Southeast Asia. In this spirit, the conference reaffirms the five-point programme and the proposals mentioned in the communiqués of the tenth and eleventh conferences of the foreign ministers of the three Indo-China countries. In its view, two aspects of a political solution to the Kampuchea question have to be seen: the internal and the international.

a. The internal affairs of Kampuchea must be settled by the Kampuchean people themselves without external interference. The People's Republic of Kampuchea declares itself prepared to enter into talks with opposition Khmer individuals or groups to achieve national reconciliation on the basis of the removal of the Pol Pot clique and the holding of free general elections following the complete withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteer forces from Kampuchea. It welcomes all efforts at mediation to bring about such talks.

The Lao People's Democratic Republic and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam fully support the just position and good will of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

b. The settlement of the international aspect of the Kampuchea question would imply an agreement on the withdrawal of Vietnamese volunteer forces along with the cessation of all material and military aid to the Pol Pot clique and other reactionary Khmer forces, of the utilization by the latter of Thai territory as sanctuary, of all intervention from outside in the internal affairs of Kampuchea, as well as of all military hostilities by foreign countries against the People's Republic of Kampuchea. Concurrently with a peaceful solution to the Kampuchea question a stable and lasting peace in the region has to be ensured, an agreement should be reached on the setting up of a zone of peace and stability in Southeast Asia wherein states with different social systems would coexist peacefully on the basis of the principles mentioned in the declarations of Bandung in 1955, of Kuala Lumpur in 1971, of Bali in 1976 and in the declaration of the three Indo-China countries set forth by the Lao foreign minister before the U.N. General Assembly in 1981, and an end must be put to foreign aggression, intervention and threats against the countries in the region.

4. The conference highly appraises the meetings in 1985 between the foreign ministers of Indonesia and Vietnam representing the two groups of countries in the region, as well as the meeting of the working groups of the two countries which have thus started a new phase in the process of dialogue aimed at achieving peace and stability in Southeast Asia and in Kampuchea. These meetings have helped both sides compare their respective positions, increase their mutual understanding and trust and gradually reduce their divergences of views.

The conference is convinced that with good will on both sides, the coming meetings between the foreign ministers of Indonesia and Vietnam as well as the dialogue to come between the Indo-China countries and ASEAN countries will strongly promote this process and will allow an agreement to be reached on an equal footing and in keeping with the interests of the states of the region and with that of peace in Asia and the world.

The three Indo-China countries wish and are prepared to negotiate with Thailand in order to settle on the basis of peaceful coexistence fundamental problems that have arisen in mutual relations. The restoration and consolidation

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Do you mean the fifth-generation computers now on the drawing boards?

Fifth-generation computers will also include machines capable of such colossal performances. But this is not the main thing. These computers will feature capabilities characteristic, in particular, of the POET data retrieval systems. In order to formulate and automatically compile the programme for solving a problem, such a computer will only need a description of the problem. The new-generation computers will process knowledge rather than data. Their operation will involve not only numbers but symbols as well, and their functions will be mainly to draw logical conclusions and to build up hypotheses. It is exactly this ability to draw logical conclusions, imitate human reasoning and analyze speech and texts that will distinguish the new-generation computers from their predecessors. These coming computers are sometimes referred to as "intelligent."

Today science and technology have come close to making automatic factories a reality. What kind of "intelligence" is a computer to possess to be able to manage such a complicated "unmanned" production unit?

The management and control of automatic factories will not require any higher computer intelligence than that possessed by the machines we have just discussed. However, these machines will need an extra capability. So far the sequence of operations involved in manufacturing products designed with the aid of a computer is determined by a product engineer drawing upon his work experience and knowledge. We are now busy developing special systems—"knowledge bases"—which provide a bridge of sorts between automatic product-designing and automatic process-designing systems so that the designer can draw up flow charts himself. Such an integrated process will make for high efficiency in automated production.

Strong emphasis is now being placed on the "intelligent knowledge bases" as part of artificial intelligence, but are they really to be trusted?

One such base, the MODIS, has been developed by the Systems Research Institute. Using it, a doctor can diagnose and treat hypertension more confidently. The base contains a wealth of information taken from reference books and journals, as well as expert knowledge gained from practical experience. The base, like the other ones of its kind, operates in the interactive mode. Its specific feature is that replies to the doctor's inquiries are accompanied by explanations of the reasons for which this or that solution has been selected. This prevents the doctor from going to the extremes of either idolizing the computer or rejecting it outright. One can trust a knowledge base, but the final decision should always rest with man, not with the machine.

While we are on the subject of whether one can trust a computer, I would like to ask you the following question. The U.S. has announced its intention to build up an automated ABM system. How justified are fears that a computer error is likely to touch off a nuclear war? Won't computers become much more reliable in 10-15 years?

Such a system will comprise hundreds of satellites moving in different orbits and carrying all sorts of weapons. At American estimates, it will be able to destroy a missile within 100-300 seconds of its emergence from the atmosphere. A missile is to be detected and hit in this time span. But if a computer has erred or developed a fault, there is nothing that can block its com-

of good-neighbourly relations between the three Indo-China states and Thailand would constitute an extremely important factor for peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

The conference highly appreciates the efforts and the good will of the government of the Lao People's Democratic Republic with regard to questions pertaining to its relations with the Kingdom of Thailand, and hopes that the Laotian proposal concerning government-level negotiations will be carefully studied by Thailand.

5. The People's Republic of Kampuchea is prepared to negotiate on the repatriation of Kampuchean refugees living at present in Thailand. Meanwhile, the refugee camps should be moved away from the Thai-Kampuchean border and placed under the control of humanitarian organizations. Reactionary Khmer forces should be denied any control over these camps and any utilization of the latter for political and military purposes. All armed elements should be expelled from the camps.

Similarly, the People's Republic of Kampuchea is prepared to negotiate directly or indirectly with the Thai authorities with a view to settling the problem of Thai soldiers and civilians captured on Kampuchean territory.

6. The conference welcomes the new progress made in the cooperation between the Lao and the Vietnamese governments and the U.S. Administration in the search for the Americans missing in action. The People's Republic of Kampuchea reaffirms its readiness to cooperate with the United States on this issue. Regrettably, the American side has so far manifested no interest in this humanitarian question.

7. The three Indo-China peoples invariably treasure their time-honoured friendship with the Chinese people and look forward to the early restoration of that friendship. Relations of friendship and cooperation between Kampuchea, Laos and Vietnam, and the People's Republic of China would be an extremely important factor for peace and stability in Southeast Asia and in Asia as a whole. The conference is of the view that only through negotiations can differences among the parties concerned be resolved. In this spirit the People's Republic of Kampuchea and the Lao People's Democratic Republic fully support the efforts undertaken by the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to resume without any preliminary conditions the talks between China and Vietnam with a view to normalizing their relations in the interests of both peoples and of peace in Southeast Asia and the world.

8. The conference considers that in spite of the serious divergence of views that remain between the Soviet Union and the United States, the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Geneva has created new possibilities of improving the international atmosphere, of promoting efforts towards nuclear disarmament and preventing the arms race from spreading into outer space. The conference fully supports the principled position of and the important initiatives advanced by the Soviet Union in the talks with the U.S., especially the historic declaration of January 15, 1986, by CPSU General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev regarding an overall programme for the total elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, which opens before humanity the prospect of being forever delivered from the nightmare of a nuclear catastrophe that has haunted man for the last forty years.

The conference appraises highly the results of the non-aligned foreign ministers conference in Luanda and declares that the three Indo-China states will do their utmost to contribute to the success of the non-aligned foreign ministers conference due to be held in New Delhi in April 1986 and of the eighth non-aligned summit in Harare in August 1986 to strengthen the solidarity among the non-aligned countries in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and apartheid, for peace, national independence and a new international economic order.

Vientiane, January 24, 1986

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mand to start a war. Today, accidental nuclear explosions and accidental nuclear missile launches are not to be ruled out either. But I hope that should this happen heads of government will have enough time to make contact on the hot line and prevent a nuclear conflict. But if these sophisticated automatic systems are built, the destinies of the world will depend on robots, not on human beings. However reliable a computer is, no one can guarantee its trouble-free operation. There will always be the likelihood of a malfunction, albeit a slight one. For this and other obvious reasons such systems should not be built and deployed in outer space. Every effort must be made to stop the arms race spreading to outer space.

There already exist computers capable of playing chess, composing and performing music, drawing pictures and writing poetry. Doesn't this mean that artificial intelligence is already a fact, in a certain sense?

What these computers do is connected, to some extent, with the search for and selection of decisions. A good chess player thinks fifteen moves ahead. In a short period he considers a large number of variants (which, however, constitute only an infinitesimal fraction of the possibilities the given situation offers), discards the ones he finds useless and finally finds the optimum move. We do not know what happens in his brain in the process. Trying out one variant after another would take millions of years. Chess-programmed computers, capable of playing on a sufficiently high level, function on the principle of discarding useless variants. International computer chess tournaments are arranged. Automatic chess instructors are on sale in some countries. Such a device performs about 30 million operations per second to make a move and "thinks" five moves ahead. Thinking 15 moves ahead is beyond the capacity of all the world's computers put together. But even if we succeed in increasing the capacity of a computer enormously, it will become none the more intelligent for all that. After all, whatever "intelligence" it possesses is built into it by an expert who has compiled a programme for the solution of a certain specific problem. Man differs from the machine in that he does not merely fulfil programmes stored in his memory, but creates his own programmes geared to the goals set.

In a recent Paris-Match discussion of artificial intelligence, computers were predicted to bring immortality to man in the long run by imbibing an individual's life experience and knowledge and assuming his character. As a result, intelligence will exist outside that individual after his death. How would you comment on that?

It is equally the case that writing a great book or making an epoch-making discovery makes one immortal. Newton, Einstein and Omar Khayyam are immortal in this sense. Whether their intelligence is concentrated in books or in a computer makes no difference at all except that the information stored in the computer's memory can be retrieved much faster. However, information retrieval systems are merely technical facilities which help man rather than replace him. They will never acquire human intelligence. The idea of intelligence existing outside man is not altogether new. Recall, for instance, the Hegelian idea of world or divine reason and other such idealistic theories. On the other hand, the entire body of scientific evidence makes it perfectly obvious that man thinks only while he is alive. No one has succeeded in refuting that so far, and no computers, I think, are likely to change things in this respect.

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When Orlando Letelier, former Minister in the Popular Unity government in Chile, was murdered in Washington in September 1976, the American secret services enabled many of those implicated to escape responsibility for the crime. Such of them as did face trial got off lightly. Those who masterminded the assassination never figured in the case at all.

MORE ABOUT THE MURDER ON SHERIDAN CIRCLE

TAYLOR BRANCH and EUGENE M. PROPPER

The fireball appeared and disappeared so quickly that the few witnesses would remember only a bright flash, if anything. Within a few microseconds, orange fire came up from the floor of the car to burn the left shoulder of the driver, to fill the car and spill out the windows, and just as quickly to vanish. The fireball was sucked back into a concussion that jarred the backseat passenger loose from his last clear memory—of a loud hissing sound, like steam coming off a hot wire.

"Sounds Like a Bomb"

Officer Charles Kucmovich was about to drive his Executive Protective Service cruiser into Sheridan Circle* from R Street. The concussion reached him in its true proportion, full of noise and danger. "That sounded like a bomb," said Kucmovich's partner. The two of them surveyed the far side of the circle, where smoke was rising from the blue car. Kucmovich steered the cruiser all the way around past the smoke cloud and screeched to a halt behind the wreck, parked diagonally to block two lanes of inbound commuter traffic.

He could not open the left front door of the blue car. It was mashed shut. Kucmovich reached blindly through the smoke and tried to pull the injured driver from the floor of the car, but he was wedged tightly between the seat and the steering column. "This one is bad!" he shouted to his partner. "I can't get him out!" At that instant, Kucmovich heard a popping noise under the car. There were flames around the gas tank. Kucmovich ran back to the cruiser and yanked out his fire extinguisher. He hesitated briefly, calculating the odds of a gasoline explosion, and then he dashed to the car to spray the flames. Half a dozen EPS officers were already in sight, arriving on foot and by cruiser from nearby embassy patrols. Others were on the way. Those closest to the car maintained a respectful distance until the fire was out.

A burly, redheaded civilian was paying no attention to the danger. He appeared from the sidewalk behind the car and charged around to the driver's window. His face was blackened, his shirt torn, and his hair was singed from the telltale blast of the fireball. He also tried to pull the driver from the car, straining his muscles as far as shock and hysteria would take them. But it was impossible. The young man looked to the sky in anguish. "Assassins!" he screamed. "Fascists!"

The woman passenger was lying in the grass in front of the Romanian embassy, having staggered and crawled from the wrecked car.

Dana Peterson, an anesthesiologist who happened to be on the scene, on the ground beside her, pushed her head back, opened her mouth, and scooped out clots of blood.

"Take some deep breaths," Peterson urged. The woman responded. Her breaths gurgled, however, because of the continuing flow of blood. Peterson was still trying to clear out the air passages when strong hands grabbed her shoulders from behind and began to shake her violently. Peterson turned in anger and surprise.

"Save her!" cried the man with the singed hair.

"I'm a doctor," said Peterson. A quick read of the man's face told her he was probably a victim, suffering from shock and extreme emotional distress.

An EPS officer intervened, pulling the man a few feet off to the side. "I'm a doctor," Peterson told the officer. She turned back to the woman, whose breathing was weaker. Peterson examined her quickly in an effort to locate the cause of the bleeding. She found a great many contusions and lacerations about the face, including a long cut through the lower lip. She found similar wounds on the legs, but there was nothing in her judgement that could account for the bleeding. Then she saw two small cuts on either side of the windpipe....

From the book "Labyrinth" by journalist Taylor Branch and former Assistant U.S. Attorney of the District of Columbia Eugene M. Propper put out in the U.S. and now being prepared for publication in Russian by Progress Publishers. Eugene Propper took part in the investigation of the circumstances of the murder of Orlando Letelier, who occupied the posts of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, Internal Affairs and National Defence in the Allende government. Shortly before the trial opened, he was removed from the investigation because, in the opinion of the U.S. special services, he had "gone too far." In "Labyrinth" he and his co-author cite facts which shed additional light on the secret springs of the conspiracy engineered by the CIA and the Pinochet secret police.

* Diplomatic enclave in Washington.

Officer Kucmovich arrived with a resuscitator unit from his cruiser. Peterson began external cardiac massage, leaning rhythmically on the woman's chest.

Walter Johnson raced ahead of the other detectives.... He caught a glimpse of a twisted blue car with its roof buckled high in the middle, like a pup tent. He saw hands just above the window line, and then he looked down at a middle-aged man with blank eyes who was opening and closing his mouth like a fish, gasping for air. The driver held both hands high in the air above him and was pawing about, as though trying to hold something. The man seemed to be crammed halfway under the car, his head just above the level of the seat, facing backward at an oblique angle, towards the left rear wheel.

"Hold on, mister," Johnson said weakly.

The door was jammed. Johnson looked for room to lift the driver backward, but the steering column interfered. The car had no floor.

Dropping to his knees, Johnson peered under the car and confirmed his worst fears. The driver's legs were not broken and bent: they were out of sight because they were absent, blown off at the knees.

Skip Bingham followed Engine Number 1 to the circle and parked his ambulance in front of the Turkish embassy.

"Chilean Fascists? How Do You Know?"

Detective Johnson was off to the side, trying to calm the man with the singed hair. "What happened?" he asked.

"They put a bomb in the car!"

"Who is they? Who put a bomb in the car?"

"The Chilean fascists did it! The sons-of-bitches!"

"What Chilean fascists did it? How do you know?" Johnson pulled out his notebook and pen. "Tell me."

The man saw the ambulance stretcher in the grass. He pushed his way past Johnson.

Within a few seconds, the stretcher was being hoisted in the back of the ambulance and the siren started. Peterson climbed in.

As the ambulance roared off, firemen pried open the driver's door of the blue car with a huge crowbar. They also popped the steering wheel off its column. An EPS officer was holding Private Catalano's oxygen mask over the driver's face. Even before the firemen pulled the victim out of the car,

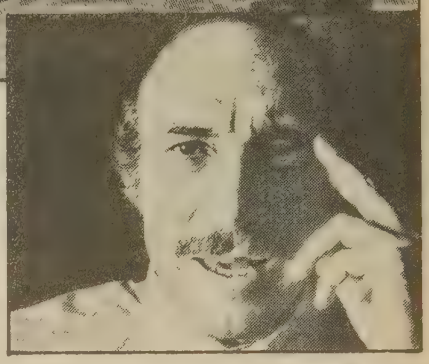
After the explosion.

Catalano was under the car, groping in the ooze of the leg wounds with small tourniquet clamps, trying to stanch the rush of blood. The driver no longer gasped for air. He showed a death pallor and no pulse. There was nothing left for the heart to pump. He had bled dry in less than ten minutes.

Kucmovich thought the man with the singed hair was out of his head. He might have a concussion or internal injuries. Kucmovich ushered him to the cruiser. On the way to the hospital, the man suffered fits of eerie calm interrupted by tears and expletives.

Johnson pushed his way through the police officers and hospital personnel who were already screening entrants to the emergency room at George Washington University Hospital. He found the man he was looking for on a table in a small treatment room, wearing a green hospital gown. Doctors and nurses were treating him for facial cuts and abrasions, having removed a small piece of metal from his breastbone. While they were finishing the medical work, Johnson peered over the shoulder of an administrator and copied information from the inevitable admission form. It said: **Michael P. Moffitt. Date of birth: July 29, 1951.** There was another form for the female victim: **Ronni Karpen Moffitt. Date of birth: January 10, 1951.** They were both only twenty-five.

Johnson resumed his interview. He fended off intruders and shouted to hold Moffitt's attention. Where did Moffitt work? What exactly did he remember of the explosion? What were the names of the Chilean fascists? Moffitt started and stopped frequently. He blurted out references to great events like military coups and assassinations



Orlando Letelier.

and battles between the hawks and the doves. Johnson scribbled as fast as he could. Moffitt kept breaking down. He wanted to talk to his friends. He swore at the murderers. And mostly he wanted to know how his wife was. Johnson pressed him firmly, then rudely, then cruelly. He was determined to learn the details now, while they were fresh in Moffitt's mind—especially of the minutes before and after the explosion. All Johnson could do was grill the suffering man in front of him. He kept at it.

Bingham walked out of the room. His arms ached from nearly forty-five minutes of continuously pounding Ronni Moffitt's chest. He pushed his way towards a man he knew, a reporter for local Channel 5. "What's going on?" he asked the reporter. "Who's in there?"

"Some guy named Letelier," said the reporter. "An ambassador from Chile or somewhere. That's what we hear."

Inside, a doctor left the room a few minutes after Bingham. He made his way down the hall, steeling himself for the direct approach. "Your wife is dead," he told Michael Moffitt, and Detective Johnson's interview soon ended.

"I Want It Done"

"You will be travelling today," says Espinoza.* "Lieutenant Fernandez will be returning from Kennedy Airport tomorrow. You should make arrangements to meet him there to receive the preoperative intelligence."

"Yes, my colonel," says Townley.** He is sitting alone with Espinoza in a car on the outskirts of Santiago. This means business. The two men, with their wives, have known each other socially for several years now, and they see each other regularly at DINA headquarters, but for matters such as this one Espinoza has always arranged a private meeting.

"I want you to explain this mission to the Cubans***," says Espinoza. "You are to get them to undertake it for us, and then you are to leave the country. I don't want you there when it happens. If possible, I want it to look like a street mugging or an accident. Something quiet."

"If that's not possible, are you prohibiting the use of explosives?" asks Townley.

Espinoza almost smiles. "No," he says. "If you have to, you have to. I want it done."

"Yes, my colonel," says Townley.

Moments later he jumps out of Espinoza's car and into his own. He soon walks into his house and abruptly tells his wife to repack his suitcase. He will be going to New York after all.

An aide returns from the DINA documentation centre with the completed new "Hans Petersen" passport and identity card. Townley flies into a rage when he hears that the credit cards and the international driver's licence are not ready. They should have blanks on hand, he says. How will he rent a car? Anger makes him drive even more rapidly than usual to the automobile club in downtown Santiago. He resents having to do this himself, but he knows people at the club and there is no alternative. It takes him a little more than an hour to obtain a new international driver's licence in the name of Petersen.

Townley proceeds to the travel agency to pick up his airplane ticket. A couple of the clerks, who know him as Andrés Wilson and as Kenneth Enyart, suppress smiles when he comes in as Petersen. This is a new one to them.

From downtown, he makes an international call to Fernando Cruchaga at the LAN Chile office in New York. He alerts Cruchaga to his arrival the following morning. Townley also asks Cruchaga to call Virgilio Paz* with the message that he will be arriving.

At home again, he makes sure that the newspaper photographs of Orlando Letelier are in his suitcase. After attending to numerous other last-minute chores, he eats a hurried meal with his wife and the children and says goodbye.

Twelve hours later, approaching an immigration desk at Kennedy International Airport, Townley consoles himself with the thought that he is only a little bit more nervous than he has always been at international borders. It takes an extra effort to appear casual as he hands his official Chilean passport to the immigration inspector.

After lunch, Townley sits in Cruchaga's office and leafs through the new Radio Shack catalogue. A phone call makes Cruchaga beam. "Someone is asking for Andrés Wilson downstairs," he reports with satisfaction. Townley walks downstairs to greet Lieutenant Fernandez, who is standing between two women. Fernandez is trying to look like a tourist. Tennis rackets protrude from his luggage. One of the women is his sister; the other is a DINA agent named Liliana Walker. Fernandez presents Townley to them as Andrés Wilson, and the two men excuse themselves at the first opportunity. They walk upstairs to a private office near the LAN Chile lounge.

Fernandez gives Townley a homemade street map of Washington and several handwritten notes.

"That's his address there," he says. "And the licence number of his car. He lives north of the city in Maryland. Here on the map. And he drives to his office this way, down this route. He parks right here in an alley."

"An alley?" says Townley.

"Yes. It's very poorly lit at night, and he sometimes leaves work after dark. That's the best place I've seen so far. I don't think his house is a good place, because it's on a dead-end street. You might get him at night when he comes home, but it would be difficult."

"Did Liliana make any contact with him?" asks Townley.

"Not even close," says Fernandez.

Fernando Cruchaga vouches for Hans Petersen's credit at the airport Avis office, and Townley is soon speeding toward New Jersey in a rented car. In Manhattan, Townley takes a detour into the garment district. For the next half hour he drives in special patterns designed to tell him whether he is being followed. In the end, he is satisfied that the chances of a surveillance are slim, but he repeats the manoeuvres in New Jersey.

At Virgilio Paz's apartment, Townley receives an abrazo and an introduction to Paz's new wife. When she leaves, Paz turns briefly to business.

"What's up?" he asks.

"Orders," says Townley. "I need you to arrange a meeting for me with Guillermo as soon as possible. This is something heavy."

"Is it in Europe?" asks Paz.

"No," says Townley. "Here. In Washington."

Paz stares into his drink and raises an eyebrow almost imperceptibly. This is the only concession he makes to the boldness of the idea.

"Who?" he asks.

"One of Allende's cabinet ministers," says Townley. "A guy named Letelier."

"I've heard of him," says Paz. "Don't worry. I will speak to Guillermo."

Paz does not speak another word of the mission that night.... The three of them go to the Bottom of the Barrel for dinner, which is plain food and strong drink, mixed with loud conversation and frequent visitors to Paz's table. Many people pay their respects to Andrés Wilson.

As the evening wears on, Townley keeps thinking about his cover plan. He wants to stay two or three days in New York, persuade the Cubans to undertake the mission, and then return to Santiago by way of Miami. He has decided that a quick visit to his sister in Tarrytown would make a suitable pretext for his trip. At eleven o'clock that night, he excuses himself from Paz's gathering and places a collect call to his sister from the pay phone in the basement at the Bottom of the Barrel.

Virgilio Paz puts a hand on Townley's elbow and interrupts his phone call. Townley apologizes to his sister, saying that he will have to call her back. When he hangs up, Paz slaps him on the back and introduces a husky man named Alvin Ross.

"We have talked on the phone, haven't we?" says Townley.

"Yes, we have!" Ross says grandly. "And I am very glad to meet you."

After half an hour of glad-handing and bar jokes, Townley calls his sister again and explains himself as best he can.

The next afternoon Townley and Paz are sitting in the Four Star Diner when Guillermo Novo and Dionisio Suarez join them. Townley is reminded of his first meeting with the CNM leaders in the same restaurant some nineteen months earlier. Now, as then, Novo is quite sceptical of Townley's ideas.

In the end, he informs Townley that he cannot make such a momentous decision on his own. Townley must present his case that night to the full executive committee.

Soon after leaving the restaurant, Townley places a call to his wife in Santiago. He tells her to pass word to the service that he has made contact and that he thinks everything will work out.

(To be concluded)

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* Pedro Espinoza, deputy chief of the Pinochet secret police, DINA (now the National Information Centre).

** Michael Townley, DINA agent connected with the CIA, an American who has settled in Chile.

*** Cuban counterrevolutionary émigrés.

* A militant of the émigré Cuban Nationalist Movement (CNM).

TAKING UP A POINT

Charitable organizations, and there are many of them in the West, help people in need. It is natural to sympathize with the unemployed and the poor who apply for such help. To my mind, there is nothing wrong with charity in itself, and those engaged in it deserve respect.

I. LIPKIN
Odessa, U.S.S.R.

Our Associate Editor ALBERT PIN replies:

There are indeed many charitable organizations in the West. In central London, for instance, donations for the poor are collected from morning till night. Passersby are asked to help their unfortunate fellow countrymen. A foreigner taking pictures in busy Regent Street or Leicester Square will also be approached by a polite energetic girl with a collection box and asked to give money for the poor.

The United Kingdom has more than 140,000 registered charities, and several thousand new ones appear every year. Some of them take care of the poor and sick children, others provide lodging for the homeless, and still others distribute free soup. Thousands of people drop coins into collection boxes, sometimes a few pence from what is often a very modest wage. They do so from their hearts, wishing to help the needy. Not only money is collected. In their leisure time many people volunteer to work without pay in hospitals, shelters, and the like. Of course, one can only respect these people for their kindness and charity.

But, alas, there are more homeless than the hostels can accommodate. Upwards of 27,500 families are officially registered as homeless in Greater London. The real figure is twice as high. Many of the homeless, especially those who are alone, are not registered with local authorities and have to spend nights in doss houses, under bridges, in deserted houses or on park benches. The ranks of the homeless are constantly being swelled by young people who come to London from the suburbs and other areas in the hope of finding work. Only a few of them are lucky enough to find temporary or seasonal jobs as dishwashers, cleaners or messenger boys. The unlucky ones can hope for a plate of free soup. A night bus delivering free soup runs from Waterloo to Charing Cross Station across the Thames. Every night people who have not eaten during the day wait for this bus at its habitual stops.

Free soup is distributed in France and the United States as well. But its taste is a bitter one for "redundant" people who are deprived of the basic right to work and hence of respect for their human dignity. The unemployed have to stand in queues for a plate of free soup, and the queues are getting longer and longer because the army of "redundant" people is growing while government allocations for social needs are being cut.

In France, for instance, the policy of austerity has led to the dismissal of hundreds of thousands of workers. Some three million people are out of work there, with over half of them not receiving even the scantiest of benefits, according to the General Confederation of Labour. At the same time, as official statistics reveal, the number of millionaires has risen from 35,000 to 90,000, and their profits have leapt from 251 billion to 531 billion francs. In these circumstances charity is often a trump card, especially for those in the limelight.

The famous film actor Coluche (Michel Colucci) has decided to offer 200,000 free dinners to the French poor every day from December 21, 1985, to March 21 this year. This charity is being given wide publicity in the media. Donations are being accepted and the entire operation is being conducted by a group of students called Soupe de Co and led by a son of the producer whose films star this popular actor. Those who taste the soup will evidently be pleased. But Colucci himself, the producer and his son, and other benefactors will not lose out either. The free soup is a form of publicity stunt for the comic actor.

It is significant that the Soupe de Co operation has been joined by other prominent French film actors and many politicians. It is difficult to say who has done so without ulterior motives and who hopes to enhance his reputation in this way. In March, when the charity soup operation ends, the parliamentary general election will be held. Large companies have also contributed a small percentage of the profits the policy of austerity has brought them. It is on the cards that they will be paying for soup for those whom they have fired. This is the cruel face of charity.

I have no exact figures for the number of French men and women who depend on the charity of their fellow compatriots. But here is a figure given by the French organization Secours Populaire. This charitable organization alone serves a million people, often enough the unemployed who have lost the right to benefits and families with low incomes. They are victims of a fatal chain reaction: the loss of a job, usually low-paid, leads to unpaid rent and electricity bills, the break-up of the family, the suffering of their children, and so on. It should be added that Secours Populaire is not the only charitable organization in France. But no matter how many such organizations there are in the West, they are unable to feed all the unfortunate people. Social justice, not charity, is what is needed by ordinary people in those rich capitalist countries where the ruling classes are so prone to preaching about human rights. ■

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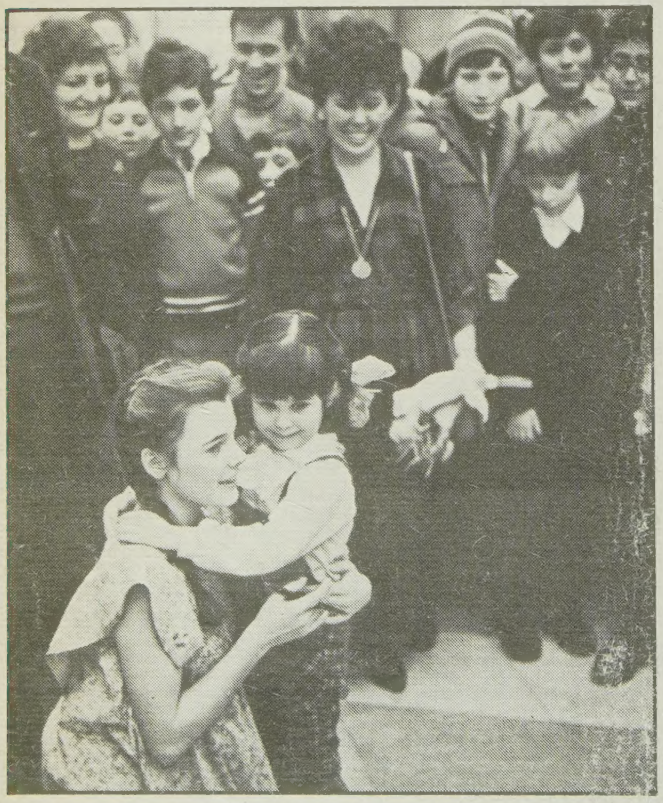
AFTER THE INTERMISSION

Children are the most appreciative of audiences. They react sincerely and emotionally to what they see and hear. It was the same this time too. The strange language did not prevent the Soviet children from understanding Raggedy Ann, the heroine of the William Gibson musical "Rag Dolly," and falling in love with her.

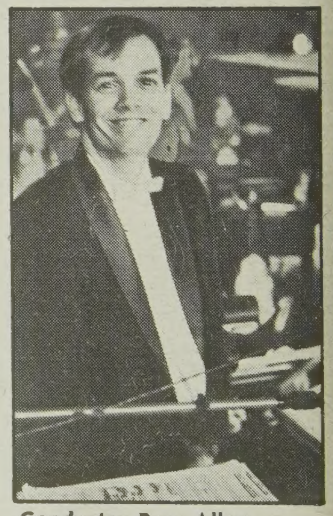
The cast of the Albany Institute for the Performing Arts' production of the musical were given a warm reception in Moscow. A full house rewarded the American players with a storm of prolonged applause.



They met in the foyer of the Children's Musical Theatre in Moscow where the American company was playing.

The story of the toys-come-to-life which long to help little Marcella to recover from her illness appealed to the youngsters also perhaps because in the make-believe characters they saw real life, real good and evil, the evil personified by General D who thirsts for the destruction of all life on earth.

It is symbolic that the first guest artists from the United States to come here after a long interval should have dedicated their art to children. Tomorrow belongs to the children, but what kind of a tomorrow it will be depends on what we are able to do today to avert the threat to our planet of a nuclear catastrophe and lay the foundations of peaceful cooperation and mutual understanding. Even the youngest citizens of the Earth are aware today of the need for good relations between countries. On the eve of the Soviet-American summit in Geneva General Secretary Gorbachev and President Reagan received a great many letters from Soviet and American children. "The whole Soviet Union is against war," wrote 11-year-old Victor Mosolov of Moscow. "I know that there are people in America too who are against war. How wonderful it would be if there was peace and friendship between the Soviet Union and America."



Conductor Ross Allen.

Above: A scene from "Rag Dolly."

The summit in Geneva and the conclusion there of an agreement on contacts and exchanges in the sphere of science, education and culture reflected the desire of the Soviet and American peoples to melt the ice of distrust between the two countries. At the children's theatre it was as if after a long intermission the curtain had risen on the resumption of ties in the field of culture and the arts.

Y. LEBEDEV

Photos by V. Akhlomov